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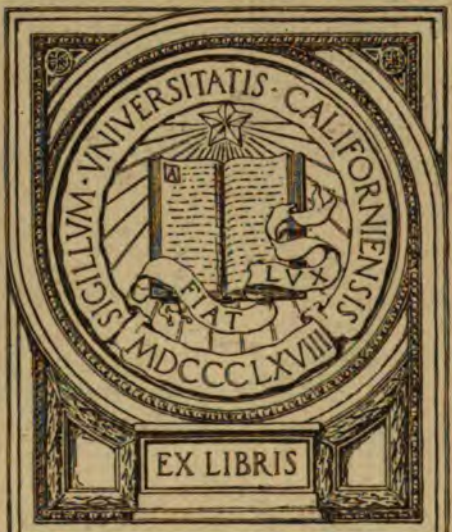

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PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANCHESTER

EDUCATIONAL SERIES
No. VIII

MANCHESTER AND THE MOVEMENT FOR NATIONAL ELEMENTARY EDUCATION
1800–1870

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Published by the University of Manchester at
THE UNIVERSITY PRESS (H. M. McKECHNIE, Secretary)
12 LIME GROVE, OXFORD ROAD, MANCHESTER

LONGMANS, GREEN & CO.
LONDON: 39 Paternoster Row, E.C.4
NEW YORK: 443-449 Fourth Avenue and Thirtieth Street
CHICAGO: Prairie Avenue and Twenty-fifth Street
BOMBAY: 8 Hornby Road
CALCUTTA: 6 Old Court House Street
MADRAS: 167 Mount Road

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MANCHESTER AND THE MOVEMENT FOR NATIONAL ELEMENTARY EDUCATION 1800-1870

BY

S. E. MALTBY, M.A., M.Ed.

Univ. of California

MANCHESTER:
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
12 LIME GROVE, OXFORD ROAD
LONGMANS, GREEN & CO.
LONDON, NEW YORK, BOMBAY, ETC.
1918

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No. CXIX

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PREFACE

"The fight has not been always the thickest and hardest in Parliament. The work of creating and leading public opinion in the country has been of even greater importance, but it has generally been performed by men of comparatively obscure position, the account of whose efforts is often inaccessible, or has perished."

FRANCIS ADAMS (of Birmingham). *History of the Elementary School Contest in England.*

WE are all familiar with the commonplace that education is a vital concern of everybody; and sometimes we are tempted to draw the conclusion that it is one of those subjects which ought to be withdrawn from the arena of party politics and settled by common consent of all well-disposed citizens. But from the very fact that education cannot be confined to any one department of life, but touches in turn, in England at all events, religion, morals, politics, social ideals, trade and health, as well as knowledge, any educational proposal must always be accompanied by keen conflict of opinion; in fact principles are often more deeply involved in educational movements than in almost anything else, and one has only to trace the history of any one of the numerous sources of our educational system to realise that in the past it has always been so. In national affairs, however, the currents of opinion and the enormous toil of propagating ideas are not easy to follow. Parliament seldom acts until the need for action has been convincingly shown by years of devoted effort by hundreds and thousands of individuals who can never figure in the final drama. To understand the long failure of Parliament to establish universal education in England is to understand a very large portion of the life of England in the nineteenth century.

The aim of this book is limited to showing how Manchester stood towards the progress of National Elementary Education during the years 1800 to 1870. At one time she is conspicuously leading, at another marching abreast of, finally apparently lagging behind, the nation; sometimes she is bitterly opposing the proposals of Government; but always she is acutely conscious of educational need, and equally conscious of local irreconcilable differences of opinion and ideals in a matter of common concern

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and fundamental importance. Throughout almost the whole of the above-mentioned period no other single place was so much the focus of educational interest and the hotbed of educational proposals as Manchester and its neighbourhood.

A variety of reasons may be given for this. No district grew more rapidly in the period following the colonial expansion of the early part of the eighteenth century, and the condition of Manchester itself (which grew in a few years from a small town to a great city, without any effective local government or sanitary scheme and public health regulations) was such as will send a thrill of horror through the most callous reader. What is now the condition of a small minority in our slums was before and for many years after 1800 widespread, and accepted as a matter of course. But in the Manchester area the conditions of employment were especially conducive to social evils, and after the discovery that children from 9-15 could work spinning machines better and far more cheaply than adults, the worst evil of all—the exploitation of child-labour and the degradation of children—was introduced. Yet it was not the intensity of the evils that caused the neighbourhood of Manchester to become the concern of Parliament; it was the enlightened and devoted labour of her public-spirited citizens who tried to abolish or at least mitigate the evils of which they themselves were the involuntary authors. Directly or indirectly, Lancashire industrial conditions led also to Manchester becoming the centre of the Chartist and Free Trade movements, both of which must be constantly borne in mind from 1837 onwards. It seems worth while to try to reveal not only the conditions and the movements we shall have to trace, but as far as possible the men who led the way in the difficult pioneer days. Some of them are famous, and whenever their work is well known and easily accessible, little is said of them; and many Acts of Parliament, commissions and educational movements are dealt with only from the point of view of their relation to movements in Manchester. But more commonly the local educational leaders are unknown to the general public, and even to *The Dictionary of National Biography*, or, if known, not for the part they played in the advance of Manchester and England towards a national system of education.

We shall begin with the condition of Manchester in the days when the new social consciousness was coming into existence;

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we shall see how the pioneers groped their way to a nominal but futile parliamentary control of child-labour, while at the same time religious enthusiasm brought about a revival of education for the poor. During the same years the idea gained ground that Education was a national concern, and of great political significance and importance. To this are due Whitbread's Bill (1807) and Brougham's work from 1816 onwards. With the wave of Liberalism that swept the country in the days of the Great Reform Bill, and in the parliaments that followed, came national grants for Education, and the Committee of Privy Council on Education, the predecessor of the present Board of Education. In all this Manchester took a keen interest and sometimes an important share.

It was, however, not until the abolition of the Corn Laws had freed the energies of the leading men of the district that a movement was originated in Manchester, and an association there formed, which directly and indirectly led up to and affected the Elementary Education Bill of 1870, just twenty-three years later. The history of the Lancashire Public Schools Association has never been fully written; and yet it is safe to say that almost every aspect of National Education was faced and fought by this association and its successor, the National Public Schools Association, in the late forties and early fifties. Neither they nor their antagonists, the Manchester and Salford Committee on Education, carried their plans to a successful issue, but they put the question of National Education on to a different plane, and demonstrated the inadequacy of voluntary effort. Only one aspect of our modern system did they fail to press adequately—the necessity for compulsion to secure attendance; and this was fully established as inevitable by one of the most limited and local but most important bodies, the Manchester and Salford Education Aid Society, between 1864 and 1868.

It would have been interesting to extend this investigation so as to embrace a complete history of Education in Manchester. But it has been necessary to confine the study to the conflict of forces which raged up to the Elementary Education Act of 1870, and to limit its scope to that branch of our educational system which alone, until almost the last decade, had any satisfactory claim to be considered "national," in the sense of being consciously initiated, guided and controlled by the corporate action

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of the nation for the common good. Even within this limit it will be very obvious that no attempt has been made to estimate the strength and importance of all the various great movements—religious, political, intellectual, economic and social—with which, as has been said, all educational movements are bound up.[1] Two reasons may be given for this. To a large extent, existing histories of education briefly state the big principles commonly enough, but none give the detailed information which it was the aim of this work to rescue from obscure sources and to present, with a background of national history, in an accessible form. Further, a large part of the work was done on the understanding that a friend and former colleague was simultaneously to write on the particular subject of the forces behind the movement for National Elementary Education—a work which, it may be hoped, will yet be completed.

The author wishes to take this opportunity of thanking all those who have helped him in writing this book. Professor M. E. Sadler suggested the subject nearly ten years ago and has since given much help and advice. Professors J. J. Findlay, P. Sandiford, and Mr C. E. Stockton, have read through the manuscript, and made many helpful suggestions. The late Mr John Cooper[2] gave the benefit of his vivid recollections of local educational efforts and characters from 1846 onwards, and read through several chapters. Finally, the author is indebted to Mr C. E. Stockton and to Mr R. Christie Burn, for kindly reading through the proofs, and to Mr H. M. M'Kechnie of the Manchester University Press for kindly help and advice as the work of printing has proceeded.

S. E. MALTBY.

SIDCOT, WINSCOMBE,
SOMERSET. *July*, 1918.

[1] *The Town Labourer*, 1760-1832 (J. L. and Barbara Hammond, 1917), provides a most illuminating and complete introduction to this special study.

[2] Mr Cooper was a member of the first Manchester School Board in 1870, and was invited, as the only surviving member of that body, to the first meeting of the Manchester Education Committee in 1902. He died, in 1916, at the age of eighty-six.

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UNIV. OF CALIFORNIA

Manchester and the Movement for National Elementary Education

1800–1870

CHAPTER I

A GENERAL SURVEY OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND UNTIL 1800.

THE history of Education in England is as old as that of Christianity itself, for it is almost certain that when Augustine came to Canterbury in 597 he very soon established a school; and the Grammar School at Canterbury has had an unbroken existence in one form or another from that day to this. Over Saxon England was scattered a considerable number of schools —how many we do not know, and now can never know. Alfred bewailed the destruction of learning in England, and did much to restore it. A hundred years before his time learning in England was so flourishing and of such high repute that it was from York that Charlemagne summoned Alcuin to establish his system of palace schools in the new Empire, and despite Danish invasions of England there is no reason to suppose that the Normans found it a more ignorant country than the land from which they came. In an age when serfdom prevailed, and French was the language of chivalry and of the rulers as Latin was of learning, no one thought it necessary for a large portion of the population to receive schooling, though even in regard to the extent of schooling in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the late Bishop Stubbs was able to say:

> "The rapid diffusion of Lollard tracts is in itself a proof that many men could be found to read them, in every Manor was found someone who could write and keep accounts in Latin: and it was rather the scarcity and cost of books than the inability to read, that caused the prevalent ignorance of the later middle ages."[1]

There is much evidence to show that poverty was no bar to educational opportunity and even the serf of ability might

[1] Stubbs. *Constitutional History.* Vol. iii., p. 371.

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reasonably hope to enter the ranks of a class marked off by many privileges.

The Black Death, devastating as it was, incidentally brought two changes of vast significance and ultimately of advantage to the population at large. In the first place, largely through the mortality amongst the old French-speaking clergy, English priests, and consequently the English language, displaced French priests and the French language.[1] In the second, the economic changes resulted in the destruction of serfdom at a greatly accelerated pace.

Slowly it may be, but certainly, the scholastic system, if system it can be called, was rebuilt. The medieval system was always closely connected with the Church—how could it be otherwise when every "clerk" claimed "privilege of clergy"? —and it was very largely under the control of the Church.

Canon VIII. of the General Council at Westminster in 1200 reads: "Let nothing be exacted for licences to schoolmasters. If it have been paid, let it be restored." Now this canon clearly manifests a concern of the Church to encourage education; but it also clearly implies a control of education by the Church, for a licence to teach is required.

The right and duty of the Church to control all education which was openly claimed by many[2] even after the middle of the nineteenth century therefore rested on very ancient authority indeed.

There is a passage of great interest in a Petition from the Canons to King Richard II. in 1391, in which they beg him to "ordain and command that henceforward no 'neif' or 'vileyn'[3] should send his children to school to enable them to rise through becoming clerks, on the ground of the safety and honour of all Freemen of the realm." Clearly in the general social and economic upheaval following the Black Death, and in the spread of Lollardy, education was shared by all. The non-gentle children who formed the scholars must have been not

[1] Higden, in a famous passage in *Polychronicon*, written in 1327, says that children had to construe their lessons in French. John de Trevisa, in translating this work into English, added comments, stating in some detail the way in which after the Black Death certain notable schoolmasters carried out what was doubtless an inevitable change, so that by 1385, when he wrote, "children of gramer schole conneth na more Frensche than can his life heele." Quoted by De Montmorency, *State Intervention in English Education*, pp. 20-21.

[2] See repeated instances in all succeeding chapters. The following words are typical:—"We feel it necessary to say that, by the term *Education*, we mean training for time and Eternity, and that according to our belief, the Church of England is the divinely appointed Teacher of the English Nation." Petition to the Queen, adopted at a Church Education Meeting, 12th February 1850.

[3] The signification *neif* or *vileyn* is somewhat doubtful, but probably *neif* is the feminine of *vileyn*, and the phrase therefore implies "male or female villeins in gross."

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only sons of freeholders and copyholders, but also of the lowest class, villeins in gross. The last were not a destitute, homeless, landless, urban poor, but the poorest members of the manor. The King did not grant the petition; and in 1406 his successor enacted that "every man or woman, of what state or condition they be, shall be free to set their son or daughter to take learning at any school that pleaseth them within the realm." [1]

Certainly Education was not by any means confined to monasteries and monks for boys, or to convents and nuns for girls. The Cathedral Schools and the work of Chantry priests were independent of monastic control.

The commonest form of benefaction to the Church during the later Middle Ages was to endow, by means of a gift of property, a priest to say prayers or mass for the soul of the deceased benefactor or his family. As this took up but a small part of the priest's time—and he was not a parochial priest—it was common to stipulate that he should devote part of his time to teaching children. Hence arose the Chantry schools.

There were also many unauthorised private schools, as the surviving records of one instructive case show.[2] But the dictum of Thirning in the Gloucester Grammar School case, 1416, that "Education is a religious matter" is true of the Middle Ages. Consequently, when Henry V. took drastic steps to suppress Lollardy, schools also felt the heavy hand of the authorities.

Nevertheless in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries schools flourished in England, both in numbers and quality. The late Mr A. F. Leach showed that if the provision of schools at the close of the sixteenth century be compared with the middle of the nineteenth century, the advantage is in favour of the former date.[3] In referring to the seventeen Grammar Schools of Herefordshire, a county with a population of 30,000, Mr Leach said:

> "Assume even that the population was not that in 1546 but doubled; cut off a fourth of the schools as really elementary; yet where should be a population of 60,000 in 1860, or in 1896 for that matter, with 13 Grammar Schools at its command?"

The supply of elementary education in these centuries falls under many heads:

1. The lower classes of Grammar Schools (mostly of course supplying a ground work for what we should now term secondary education).

[1] De Montmorency, *op. cit.*, p. 29. [2] *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 50 *et seq.*
[3] A. F. Leach. *English Schools at the Reformation.* Pp. 97-103.

> "Take, say, 300 Grammar Schools among 2½ million people (the estimated population in 1546). This gives one for every 8300 people instead of one for every 23,000, as in 1865."

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2. Song Schools for the Choristers in Cathedrals.
3. A. B. C. Schools.
4. Schools in connection with Collegiate Churches—for laymen as well as churchmen—*e.g.* Beverley, Chester, etc.
5. Private Schools.
6. Schools in connection with Hospitals.[1]
7. Guild Schools.[2]

The desire that every ploughman should be able to read for himself the Bible, or at any rate the Gospels, in his own language is not a Protestant glory alone. Probably some such statement may be found many times before, but certainly both Erasmus and Tyndale, as well as Wyclif, must be given credit for it: and Erasmus at all events, brilliantly severe critic of Rome as he was, stood firm for the Catholic Church as against the Reformers. Already the idea had dawned, and was in fair way of realisation, that some knowledge of the world of enlightenment possible only through books was the birthright of all.

Erasmus' words deserve quotation:

> "I wish that even the weakest woman should read the gospels. . . . I long that the husbandman should sing portions of them to himself as he follows the plough, that the weaver should hum them to the tune of his shuttle, that the traveller should beguile with their stories the tedium of his journey."[3]

The foundation of the Manchester Grammar School[4] in the pregnant years just before the great upheaval of the Reformation is a sign of the times comparable with the contemporary foundations of Dean Colet's school at St Paul's, Wolsey's at Ipswich, and many others. The foundation of Stockport Grammar School, a few years before by Sir Edmund Shaa, is extremely interesting as the work of a successful merchant. As in the case of Manchester Grammar School, the control was vested in laymen.

The great political and religious movement known as the Reformation brought with it the greatest set-back which

[1] The Schools in connection with Hospitals are of particular interest. Generally a "hospital" means "almshouse," for the poor rather than for the sick. The school at Pontefract was in existence as early as 1090. That in connection with St Anthony's Hospital, in Threadneedle Street, London, was very famous in the reign of Henry VIII., and it is said to have produced More and Colet. That at Banbury provided the model for methods of instruction laid down by the founders of Manchester Grammar School. Clearly these particular schools were what we should now call secondary.

[2] Guilds were associations of craftsmen for a great variety of purposes, "from governing the Community to giving scrip to the poor." Of thirty-three mentioned in A. F. Leach's records, twenty-eight kept Grammar Schools, and many others—*e.g.* the Mercers and the Goldsmiths of London—were trustees for others; nor were they limited to the metropolis.

[3] From Erasmus' preface to his edition of the Greek Testament. Quoted in Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers*, p. 327.

[4] See Chapter III., p. 32.

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English Education had so far suffered. With the destruction of monasteries unfortunately was lost much of the ancient Christian culture of England; yet the monasteries were survivals, anachronisms, which there was no vital necessity to replace. But with the abolition of chantries and chantry priests were lost many of both the schools and schoolmasters, which were indispensable.

In his book already quoted, *Grammar Schools at the Reformation*, Mr A. F. Leach says:

> "The records appended to this book show that close on 200 Grammar Schools existed in England before the reign of Edward VI., which were for the most part abolished or crippled under him. But these recorded are only the survivors of a much larger host which have been lost in the storms of the past. . . . 300 is a moderate estimate for 1535. . . . Most of them were swept away by Henry VIII. or Edward VI.; if not abolished, then plundered and ravaged."

To what was due this wholesale destruction of schools? Not to the Dissolution of either the Greater Monasteries (1535) or the Lesser Monasteries (1539), but to the Chantries Acts of 1545 (November), by which all chantries suppressed in the previous ten years came into the King's possession, and a similar Act of Edward VI. (1548). For Somerset's party believed that religious error was more maintained by chantries than by almost anything else. They considered

> "That the alteration, change and amendment of the same (Chantries) and converting to good and godly uses as in erecting Free Grammar Schools, and further augmenting Universities and making better provision for the poor and needy can only be done by the King, and by the advice of his most prudent council."

It was further specifically laid down that

> "Commissions shall have full power to assign and shall appoint in every place where a Guild or fraternity or the priest of any Chantry should or ought to have kept a grammar school, lands, tenements, etc., to remain and continue in succession to a schoolmaster for ever for and towards the keeping of a Grammar School, in such manner as they shall appoint."

This is a clear instance of the fact that the ministers of Henry VIII., Edward VI. and Elizabeth were fully conscious of the importance of schools—as indeed were the monarchs themselves—and soon made efforts to counteract the unforeseen evils of the Acts referred to. But it is certain that very inadequate attention was given to the restitution of endowments and the safeguarding of funds hitherto devoted to Education. Of one large area, as Mr Leach says:

> "It came down to this, that the question of schools was really settled by the clerk, a person who held about the same position as local agent of Woods and Forests now. He looked out the certificates, what schools were kept and to be kept; and Milmay and Kelway signed the warrants which the deputy of a deputy of a deputy drew up. No wonder that the whole business was polished off in a month."

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Of the Grammar School foundations popularly attributed to the three monarchs above mentioned, not one was in reality a new school. They were simply refoundations of schools many of which already had a history of hundreds of years. The new foundations were in fact mere salvage from the great wreck which Latimer referred to in a sermon preached before Edward VI. as "the devilish drowning of youth in ignorance."

But if the great religious struggle of the sixteenth century resulted in the material impoverishment of Education, the combined political and religious struggle of the seventeenth threatened the very existence of free intellectual progress. The Commonwealth indeed pursued an enlightened educational policy, and Acts of 1649 point to an intention of the Government to establish National Education by parliamentary action.[1] But the Restoration soon brought a period of persecution of Dissenters. It is no exaggeration to say, as Miss Irene Parker [2] does, "that so far-reaching and disastrous was the effect of the Restoration on Education that reform was put back nearly two hundred years." The ablest, most progressive and most earnest ministers of religion and teachers in both schools and universities were, generally speaking, Dissenters; yet the Clarendon Code in re-establishing Episcopacy under pains and penalties for Dissenters endeavoured to blot out or reduce to penury and ineffectiveness these leaders of a large portion of the nation, and the most important part of it.

By the Act of Uniformity (1662) it was enacted that

> "Every Schoolmaster keeping any publique or private Schoole and every person instructing or teaching any Youth in any House or private family as a Tutor or Schoolmaster should subscribe to a declaration that he would conform to the Liturgy as by law established."

Imprisonment and heavy fines were to be imposed even for teaching in private houses.

This was followed by the Five Mile Act of 1665 (an Act for restraining Nonconformists from inhabiting in Corporations), which forbade Dissenters to teach in any public or private school under a penalty of £40. And somewhat later an attempt was made by Archbishop Sheldon to collect exhaustive information about every free school, every schoolmaster and mistress, and what they did and thought, all of course in the interest of Uniformity. "By the end of the seventeenth century the office of a teacher was as much under the control of the Church as it was at the end of the eleventh century. The schoolmaster was by law forbidden to think for himself." [3] The fear of the universal spread of Dissent created a dread of free education

[1] De Montmorency, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
[2] See *Dissenting Academies in England*, p. 43.
[3] De Montmorency, *op. cit.*, p. 108. Particularly applies to 1665-1690.

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as clearly at the end of the seventeenth century as at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

This attempt to impose a religious test as a condition of permission to teach, with its counterpart in the restrictions on Dissenters at the universities, is the third great blow which Education received. The only plea that can be put forward in mitigation of it is that the law was seldom put in force, and that on the passing of the Toleration Act after the accession of William III. in 1689 practical freedom was in large measure accorded to Nonconformists.

The situation created by the long struggle between parties in the State so irreconcilable as those in England in the middle of the seventeenth century must in any case have been difficult. The upheaval had been profound; and in London the Plague and the Fire had supervened. The reactionaries cannot be burdened with responsibility for all the educational destitution which existed about 1700. That destitution was widely recognised, and great efforts made to meet it. For some reason or another between 1660 and 1730 a quite extraordinary number of new endowed schools were established, especially those of a non-classical type. Of 2194 such schools which were in existence in 1842, no less than 905 were founded in the sixty years just mentioned.[1]

The legality of the new foundations was contested on various occasions, but three cases were decided in their favour, a fact which appears to have saved them. In Bates' case (1670) it was decided that if the schoolmaster were a nominee of the founder or of the lay patron he could not be ejected for teaching without a bishop's licence. In Cox's case (1700) it was laid down that there was not and never had been any ecclesiastical control over other than Grammar Schools. In Douse's case (1701) it was clearly affirmed that it was not a civil offence to keep an elementary school without a bishop's licence. Finally, by Acts of Parliament in 1714 and 1779, considerable freedom to teach was allowed to Protestant Dissenters and in 1790 to Roman Catholics.[2]

During the period following the Restoration Workhouse Schools also were of some importance, and of particular interest, seeing that they show the earliest cases of the use of money from the rates being devoted to Education. This is an important reminder of the fact that all the beginnings of effort in England for the education of the masses rested on the assumption that it was desirable to train them in school in handicrafts for the subsequent earning of their living.

[1] *Digest of Schools and Charities for Education.* 1842. (One-third of the classical endowed schools existing in 1842 also belong to 1670–1730.)

[2] Many details of these cases are given by De Montmorency, *op. cit.*, pp. 170–178.

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We must now turn to the growth of Voluntaryism in Elementary Education.

In 1698 the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge was formed with the object of instructing the children of the poor in the principles of the Christian religion, and for this purpose its promoters founded schools where the reading of the Bible and other religious books was taught, together with some knowledge of practical occupations. Hence arose the famous "Charity Schools," with their distinguished patrons, clerical and lay, usually of the Established Church. The number of schools and scholars grew with great rapidity. By 1743 there were 132 schools in London, 1329 in the country, providing for 5123 and 19,506 children respectively, and undoubtedly for some years the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge made a brave attempt to meet one educational need. From the beginning, however, the schools were intended only for the very poor; the distinctive uniforms adopted for the scholars, blue, orange, green, etc., in imitation of the older foundations of Hospital Schools, were really the badge of poverty, and the whole aim of the pious promoters was to train the poor to poverty. Many quotations might be given to prove this statement. The poor and the ignorant were considered to be a natural counterpart of the rich and the cultured, but the poor ought not to be degraded and ignorant of the saving truths of Christianity, nor ought they to be discontented with their lot and rebellious against their lawful betters.

At their best, then, these schools, so gratifying to many of the best spirits of the eighteenth century, and praised by such men as Addison and Blake, were very limited in their educational aims, as is shown by the fact that the total cost of running a school for fifty boys for a year was only £75 (including the master's salary). At their worst, in the latter half of the century, when the early burst of philanthropic enthusiasm had passed, they were hopelessly inefficient, and often negligible in their effects. Besides, the social system which they were designed to perpetuate was destined to be overthrown very shortly by the beginnings of the process which turned England from an agricultural to an industrial community, with a comparatively rapid breaking down of the old rigid class distinctions. With these changes the problem of the poverty and the degradation of the poor changed.

Some reference must also be made here to Sunday schools, dealt with more fully later,[1] which, though by no means new in themselves, take on an entirely new significance from the time when Robert Raikes began his work amongst the poor children

[1] See Chapter III., p. 36.

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of Gloucester in 1780. What had previously been merely local usage due to the initiative of religious and philanthropic individuals now became an organised system, popularised by an effective Press campaign. In 1785 was founded "The Society for the Establishment and Support of Sunday Schools throughout the Kingdom of Great Britain," with local committees composed equally of Churchmen and Dissenters. By 1801 the London Society alone had 1516 schools and 156,490 children connected with it. The Sunday schools were, of course, primarily intended for religious instruction, but at least reading was necessarily taught, and often writing was added.

No mention has so far been made of private schools in post-Reformation days; but it must be remembered that a very large number existed everywhere, and of every type. Some were high class and extremely efficient, conducted by keen and skilled teachers. But more often they were either "dame schools," in which women took charge of babies and little children in their own houses, or some little room, and possibly taught them the very rudiments of reading. Many were boys' schools kept by men of any or no previous occupation, failures in any other department of life, but who possibly gave their scholars some acquaintance with reading and writing and a little general knowledge. Sometimes they were night schools, where for a few pence weekly the master taught boys, youths or men the three R's, and in these schools many intelligent working men did acquire the beginnings of real education.

There were then at the close of the eighteenth century some four or five distinct types of elementary schools, varying immensely in efficiency, unknown in number, and all of them unrecognised and uncontrolled either by Church or State. Nevertheless, in spite of the multitude of schools, the mass of ignorant and degraded poor was probably greater then than at any previous period in English history.

In the latter part of that century the question of universal elementary education, and of the responsibility of the State for its provision, was discussed by many eminent thinkers both in England and France. It is important to notice how often the man who is generally and rightly regarded as a liberal in the best sense, a progressive, and even a revolutionary, takes a line of argument against public provision and control. One reason has already been indicated. If the State undertook the compulsory education of the poor it would almost inevitably do so in the interests of the existing social order. For this reason both Priestley and Godwin vehemently objected to it. They saw that the education of the masses by the classes might be made to defeat the very ideals to which the progressives were devoting their lives. Another reason is to be found in the

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doctrine of the equality of man and the admiration for the state of nature and of the savage professed by Rousseau and his followers. Rousseau even went so far as to say: "The poor man has no need of education." [1]

On the other hand, such a conservative jurist as Blackstone wrote in 1765 that the laws of most countries seemed to be defective in not constraining the parent to bestow a proper education upon his children—a clear advocacy of compulsory schooling.

In considering very briefly the grounds on which the question of universal elementary education was debated, it will be well to notice that these were really three: (1) political, (2) economic, (3) social. Two great forces moulded the thought of educationalists: first, the Industrial Revolution, discernible to the clear-sighted by 1760, and, second, Revolutionary Thought, influential from about the same time, but usually of a negative character after the excesses of the actual French Revolution; men then became suspicious and often afraid of liberty and equality.

The most powerful advocates on political grounds of a general system of elementary schools were Adam Smith and Thomas Paine. The former went so far as to say that

> "In free countries where the safety of government depends very much upon the favourable judgment which the people may form of its conduct, it must surely be of the highest importance that they should not judge rashly or capriciously concerning it." [2]

He wrote in favour of compulsory, but not free, elementary education, to be largely provided by the State. Paine, a disbeliever in aristocratic government, with great belief in the possibilities of social reform through education, advocated compulsory education of all children up to fourteen. He wrote:

> "A nation with a well-regulated government should permit none to be uninstructed. It is a monarchical and aristocratical government only that requires ignorance for its support." [3]

La Chalotais and Turgot in France had both been writing and working for universal State-provided secular education more than twenty years before the French Revolution, and French influence was strong on both Adam Smith and Paine.

It is again the author of *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) who is the foremost advocate on economic grounds. He held that the change in the industrial activities of a large part of the nation was likely to bring about a great deterioration of character and of physique, and emphasised especially the need for public

[1] J. J. Rousseau. *Emile*. Bk. I.
[2] Adam Smith. *Wealth of Nations*. Bk. V., Chap. I., Pt. III., Art. II.
[3] Thomas Paine. *Rights of Man*.

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attention to the education of the common people "in a civilised and commercial community." He foresaw the importance of intelligence combined with physical fitness in the new national life that was so rapidly developing.

In social reform, too, much was expected of Education (in the form of cheap schools for the poor) by some of its enthusiastic advocates. The smattering of education provided by charity did not counteract the other causes of poverty which were then so little understood. But if it was untrue that everything depended on environment, as some held, it was at least true that education was one essential of reform.

In 1798 Malthus published his *Essay on Population*, in which he urged that the pauperism of the poor, with all its vice and degradation, could only be checked by the moral strength of character of each individual. This he thought impossible of attainment without substituting for degrading charity an effective system of education.

> "It is surely a great national disgrace that the education of the lowest classes of people in England should be left entirely to a few Sunday Schools, supported by a subscription from individuals, who can give to the course of instruction in them any kind of bias which they please." [1]

These last few pages should suggest that however great the need for a new and effective provision of elementary education for all, the end of the eighteenth century was hardly a time when a great and far-reaching plan was likely to be formed and carried out. Europe was at war, and on England was to fall the chief burden of resistance to Napoleon for many years to come. But even had there been no war there was great difference of opinion, and an almost equal uncertainty as to the real needs of the time. Add to this the defective nature of parliamentary representation prior to 1832, and the inadequacy of local government, and it will easily be recognised that while it is perfectly true that with the nineteenth century a new historical period in elementary education begins, still that fact can only be discerned by close scrutiny. Many years passed before the movements then started achieved anything like the results which were anticipated, and which the conditions of English life required.

With this introduction it is now possible to turn to the special part played by Manchester.

[1] Malthus. *Essay on Population*. Bk. IV., chap 9.

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CHAPTER II

THE FIRST STEPS TOWARDS NATIONAL SUPERVISION OF CHILDREN'S WELFARE

In 1700 Manchester was but a large village; by 1750 it had become a town, and by 1800 one of the largest and wealthiest towns of the land. In 1757 the population of Manchester and Salford was estimated to be 20,000; in 1773, 27,000; and in 1788, 50,000; in other words, the population was doubling itself in about fifteen to twenty years in the later years of the eighteenth century.[1] The story of the growth of the cotton trade and manufacture that followed the inventions of Arkwright, Kay and their fellow-makers of the Industrial Revolution has often been told.[2] We are only concerned with the social consequences that flowed from it.

The increase in population was not due to a very high birth-rate amongst its inhabitants. It was the result of a general immigration from the whole country—men, women and children flocking to the new El Dorado.[3] Coming largely from

[1] These figures are taken from *Life of Thos. Percival*, by F. Espinasse. Podmore quotes, in his *Life of Robert Owen* (vol. i., p. 37), a different set of figures, taken from Sir Spencer Walpole's *History of England from* 1815 (vol. i., p. 89):

Population of Manchester

1724	2400 families	12,000 persons.
1757	Manchester and Salford	20,000 ,,
1774	Manchester alone	41,032 ,,
1801	,, ,,	84,020 ,,

It is clearly impossible to reconcile the two sets of figures. But the "Bills of Mortality" for Manchester, quoted in Dr Aikin's *Country Round Manchester*, 1795, also testify to the rapid increase:

Date	*Births*	*Deaths*
1700	231	229
1760	793	818
1770	1050	988
1780	1556	993
1790	2756	1940

[2] See especially *Robert Owen*. By Frank Podmore. Vol. i.

[3] See *New Statesman*, 6th December 1913. Article by L. G. Chiozza-Money, who demonstrates the fact that since our urban population now forms four-fifths of the whole, towns are necessarily repeopled by townsmen, and not recruited from the agricultural population. But this is a later development.

Cobden, 31st October 1850, at Manchester, urged the futility of a merely urban educational system, since the worst elements in the population of large towns were at that time the inflow from backward country districts.

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rural districts, they had no knowledge of the dangers to health of large towns, and of close confinement for long hours in mills; nor had anyone else. No local or national authority concerned itself with the health or housing of the people; nor did any control exist over the mills or the workers in them. This was indeed the true age of *laissez-faire*, which came into being only to be regarded with horror by its creators when they realised the results that it produced. The chief evils were bad housing and lack of sanitation, resulting in disease; and excessively long hours of labour, especially in the case of children, resulting in physical weakness, ignorance and lack of right training. It is not easy to separate these, nor were they separated in the minds of those who first fought this battle for the welfare of the new town "masses." The reformers realised not merely a sanitary problem, or an industrial problem, or an educational problem, but a great social problem, constituting, if left unsolved, a danger to the well-being of the whole community, and finally a danger to the future of the state.

From, at the latest, 1780 outbreaks of a malignant fever had become common in many of the new towns in the neighbourhood of Manchester—Ashton, Dukinfield, Radcliffe and others—and in Manchester itself; already a certain amount of alarm was felt. In 1784 [1] there appeared in Manchester *A Short Essay written for the Service of the Proprietors of Cotton Mills and the Persons employed in them*, which, though published anonymously, was probably written by Dr Thomas Percival, who played such a great part in the organised effort to establish a sanitary authority a dozen years later. The writer says that "he possesses no first-hand knowledge of factories, but is concerned with a notable outbreak of fever" which, though not named, is compared with ship's fever or jail fever; and he insists that lack of ventilation in factories is the chief cause, and a great predisposing cause. After stating that all that is needed to render mills satisfactory is windows that will open, he makes the first hint at regulation of factories in these words: "Even at some slight inconvenience to manufacturers, a full current (of air) must be allowed to flow for six or eight hours out of the twenty-four." The following extract shows the earliest discoverable concern for the condition of the children [2]:—

> "It may be useful to remark the particular impropriety of exposing children to the pernicious consequences of breathing a foul air, or of obliging them to work in the night.
>
> "Youth is the time in which, if ever, the foundation of health must be

[1] The "Old Manchester Poor Law Act" belongs to this year, and should be read both at this point and in connection with Chapter VIII. See Appendix I.

[2] *I.e.* in factories. Jonas Hanway's work for "Climbing Boys" (sweeps) began in 1760, and in 1785 he published his *Sentimental History of Chimney Sweeps*." (Keeling. *Child Labour in the United Kingdom*. 1914. P. 4.)

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laid, and strength of constitution acquired; and nothing can more powerfully tend to prevent either than the want of pure air, and loss of proper sleep, at proper hours. With respect to the latter circumstance, everyone knows that sleep in the day is not so refreshing or strengthening as sleep in the night. And it may also be added that their bodies being on this account rendered weak and irritable, are probably more liable to receive the matter of contagion, if any exists. From hence it appears that though children should not imbibe a poison sufficiently strong to produce a fever, they will lose the vigour of health, and become sickly, feeble and comparatively unserviceable, and perhaps deformed; for the tone of the system being once destroyed, the bones may be soft and flexible and at length crooked."

In a footnote is added:

"The Author of this Essay has been informed that the children who work in the night frequently sleep in the same beds as those who work in the day; if so, they alternately go out of a close mill into a dirty bed, and into a room contaminated with noxious air. It can only be necessary to mention this circumstance: the bad consequences are sufficiently obvious."

There seems to be some doubt as to how the introduction of children into mills was at first regarded. On the one hand it is stated [1] that when the practice first began respectable labourers regarded it with disfavour, and families were ashamed to be forced to send children to a mill. On the other hand, then and long afterwards, many looked upon the practice as beneficial, as the following extract [2] shows:—

"Spinning machines were first made by the country people on a confined scale, twelve spindles being thought a great affair at first; and the awkward posture required to spin on them was discouraging to grown-up people, while they saw with a degree of surprise, children from nine to twelve years of age manage them with dexterity, which brought plenty into families that were before overburthened with children, and delivered many a poor endeavouring weaver out of bondage to which they were exposed, by the insolence of spinners, and abatement of their work, for which evils there was no remedy till spinning jennies were invented."

Doubtless there were, both then and long afterwards, two

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[1] S. Kydd. *History of Factory Movement* (pub. under pseudonym "Alfred"). P. 16. Alfred says that at first native domestic labourers felt strong repugnance to letting their children work in mills.

"For a long period it was by working people themselves considered to be disgraceful to any father who allowed his child to enter the factory. "It was not until the condition of portions of the working classes had been reduced that it became the custom with working men to eke out the means of their subsistence by sending their children to the mills."

P. 19. Dale at New Lanark applied to managers of charities and parish authorities of Edinburgh for a supply of children. He ultimately had 500. To found a factory was no easy task.

"The labouring population of Scotland having been accustomed to comfort, traditionally, and by habit to personal freedom, refused to enter the cotton mills. Close confinement, and long hours of labour, were by the vast majority of working men and their families detested."

[2] "A Description of Manchester." 1788. *Lewis's Directory*. P. 64.

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sides to the question[1]; but we may hazard that for every "poor weaver" "delivered out of bondage" several children were cast into an industrial prison where happiness and health were rare visitants.

At last, on 7th January 1796, a "very numerous and respectable" meeting,[2] of great historic significance, was held at the Bridgewater Arms Inn, Manchester. Its declared purpose was "to consider means of freeing the town from the contagion of an infectious fever which has long prevailed amongst the manufacturing poor"; and its immediate work was to appoint a committee "to superintend the health of the poor in the towns of Manchester and Salford and the adjacent country"; but through the genius of its moving spirit, Dr Thomas Percival,[3] and others, the "Board of Health" became something much greater than anyone could have supposed. Percival was at this time a man of fifty-six, a student of several universities, and of wide scientific repute; a Unitarian, and a resident of Manchester for twenty years. Two extracts from his essays published in 1773 will show that his interest in the welfare of children was of very long standing. "Great towns," he had written, "are in a peculiar degree fatal to children. The confinement of children in impure air cuts them off early in life." And again: "Almost as soon as a boy has acquired the powers of speech, he is shut up many hours a day in a noisome school, secluded from the benefits of exercise, and the refreshments of the open air, and tied down to the severe drudgery of learning, which serves only, at such a period of life, to overcharge his memory and to destroy his native cheerfulness of disposition."

When, therefore, the Manchester Board of Health was at last constituted it is not surprising to find that Percival realised and made articulate "the cry of the children" in factories. At the first meeting, 7th January 1796, speaking of the many sanitary measures necessary "to obviate the generation of disease," he included improvement "of accommodation of those who are parochial apprentices[4] or who are not under the immediate direction of their parents or friends." Dr Ferrier, another

[1] Richard Oastler, letter (written 29th September 1830) to *Leeds Mercury*. Quoted *Dict. Nat. Biog.*:

> "I had lived for many years in the very heart of the factory districts; I had been on terms of intimacy and friendship with many factory masters, and I had all the while fancied that factories were blessings to the poor."

There is indeed far more evidence that masters and public alike were ignorant of the actual conditions of factories than that cruel employers deliberately ill-treated their employees.

[2] See *Proceedings of the Manchester Board of Health*.

[3] Francis Espinasse. *Life of Thomas Percival* in "Lancashire Worthies."

[4] Pauper apprentices under the age of nine years could, until 1816, be compulsorily apprenticed in pursuance of Statute 43, Eliz., c. 2., s. 5.

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notable pioneer, also spoke of the sad condition of the children. At the second meeting, a week later, Dr Bardsley said: "The rise and increase of the contagious fever which generally prevails amongst the poor in Manchester may, in a considerable degree, be attributed to the employment of children in those cotton mills where little or no attention is paid to ventilation and cleanliness, and especially where the children are obliged to work during the night." He went on to describe how children worked all night, and then threw themselves down, in their clothes, on beds which had just been vacated by four or five persons, and concluded by refraining from dwelling on "the cruelty of the practice, its immorality as tending to debase the human mind, by depriving it of opportunities to acquire any portion of knowledge and information during those hours of the day when schools are open."

At a later meeting in the same month (25th January) Dr Percival submitted his "Heads of Resolutions,"[1] which are at once a famous landmark in the history of sanitation, and the source of the Factory Acts and of the movement for the intervention of the State on behalf of children.

With such thoughts and ideals as these before the Board it was natural that communications should be established with a man who had a wide renown as a humane and philanthropic employer of children—David Dale, of New Lanark on the Clyde, near Glasgow. His schools, his abolition of night labour, and his care for the physical welfare of his employees were known to Percival.[2] And now J. B. Bailey, himself a Glasgow man in Manchester, sent to Dale a lengthy list of questions relative to the conditions of the children employed by him. The answer is given in considerable detail in the Appendix,[3] and its perusal will emphasise two important facts. In this model factory children from ten years of age worked eleven and a half hours per day and then went to school for two hours in the evening; and they were considered to be receiving a very satisfactory education when only twelve boys and twelve girls, out of a total of 507 children, were sufficiently advanced in reading and writing to begin arithmetic or sewing. To our minds the conditions and ideals are unsatisfactory; yet we cannot doubt that not only was their fate incomparably better than that which awaited almost all factory children, but the conditions were more sanitary, hygienic and conducive to happiness than the surroundings and daily lives of many thousands of children in our midst to-day.[4]

[1] See Appendix II.

[2] See *Proceedings of Board of Health*. P. 79. Letter of James Currie, M.D., of Liverpool, relating visit to New Lanark.

[3] See Appendix III.

[4] See *Child Labour and Education*, published by the W. E. A. (1915); B. Seebohm Rowntree: *Poverty; a Study of Town Life* (1902), and *How the*

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That Robert Owen was a member of the Board of Health, and likewise the first Sir Robert Peel, a friend of Percival, is of the utmost significance, for in this way the two most successful cotton manufacturers of their day came into touch with the cruelties so bound up with their business, and at once accepted the idea of legal control, regulations and State compulsion on employers to abolish them.[1]

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the modern conception of education as an affair of importance to the community had scarcely dawned; in so far as any sense of responsibility had been at all generally felt, charity and religion were its motives. Nevertheless the same forces which have been so powerfully at work in the last decade—medical opinion, the need for intelligent workmen, and fear of violence from political ignorance—had already begun to work through the Manchester Board of Health. Percival, indeed, soon passed away; but for twenty years Peel and for fifty years Owen never ceased from preaching the care and education of the nation's children as the essential of national happiness. The seed sown by them was good; but the soil of public opinion was not ready to receive it, and political storms were unkind to the struggling growth. An age which was to have its twenty years of war crowned by Waterloo and Peterloo could hardly be expected to find time to look after the internal arrangements of a new and largely despised industry.

What was the condition of children not only in factories, but in England generally, may be learned from direct and indirect evidence in connection with the factory legislation of the years 1802 to 1819, associated especially with the names of the elder Peel and Owen.

THE CONNECTION OF MANCHESTER WITH THE FIRST FACTORY ACT, 1802

In 1802 the first Sir Robert Peel, then employing about 15,000 hands, including 1000 apprentices, introduced an "Act for the preservation of the health and morals of apprentices

Labourer Lives; F. E. Green: *The Tyranny of the Country Side*; L. G. Chiozza-Money: *Riches and Poverty* (1910), and many other books, including the *Annual Reports of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education* (1907-1917), and several numbers of *The Crusade* (1911-1913).

[1] How slowly anything like effective control was established may be gathered from the following extract from Lord Ashley's speech delivered in 1843:—

> "Children, sometimes not over 4 or 5 years of age, were found toiling in the dark in some cases so long as 18 hours a day, dragged from bed at four in the morning, and so utterly wearied out that instruction either on weekdays or Sundays was utterly out of the question."

See further Chapter V., pp. 58-59.

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and others employed in cotton and other mills, and in cotton and other factories," with the objects of limiting the hours of labour of children (and prohibiting night work), of providing for instruction of all apprentices, and of obtaining registration and inspection of factories.[1]

The Bill applied to "all such mills and factories within Great Britain and Ireland, where three or more apprentices, or twenty or more other persons, shall at any time be employed." The regulations were, briefly, as follow :—

1. Actual working hours to be limited to 12 per diem (between 6 A.M. and 9 P.M.).
2. All night work to cease after June, 1804.
3. Provision to be made by employers for the instruction of all apprentices in reading, writing and arithmetic.
4. Factories to be whitewashed twice a year.
5. The sexes to be separated in bedrooms and not more than two sleep in one bed.
6. At Midsummer sessions J.P.'s to appoint two factory inspectors—a Justice of the Peace and a clergyman of the Established Church.
7. All mills and factories to be registered annually by the Clerk of the Peace.
8. Penalties for violation of regulations to be not less than 40s. or more than £5, and to be inflicted by the Justices of the Peace.

On the third reading of the Bill, 2nd June 1802, Sir Robert Peel made the following explanation :—"The great and first object I had in view in bringing in this Bill was to promote the religious and moral education of the children. Without a measure like the present no gentleman of weight in the country could visit these mills, even though fever raged in them, or other kinds of misery and distress ; so that there was no hope without it of introducing any system of wholesome regulations."

Fourteen years later Peel gave the following account [2] :—

"Having other pursuits, it was not often in my power to visit the factories. But whenever such visits were made, I was struck with the uniform appearance of bad health, and in many cases, stunted growth, of the children. The hours of labour were regulated by the interest of the overseer, whose remuneration depending on the quantity of work done, he was often induced to make the children work excessive hours, and to stop their complaints by trifling bribes. Finding our factories under such management, and learning that the like practices prevailed in other parts of the kingdom where similar machines were in use, the children being much overworked, and often little or no regard paid to cleanliness or ventilation of the buildings—having the assistance of Dr Percival and other eminent medical gentlemen of *Manchester*, together with some distinguished characters both in and out of Parliament, I brought in the Bill of 1802. I did it (*i.e.*, introduced the Bill of 1802) not so much for the benefit of others, but finding my own mills were mismanaged, and that, with my other pursuits, I had it not in my power to put them under a proper regulation."

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[1] For text of Bill see Appendix IV.

[2] *Report of Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committee on the State of Children employed in Manufactories of the United Kingdom.* 1816. Peel's evidence.

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Even in 1802, 7th April, and again in May when the House was in committee, many members wished to extend the operation of the Bill to all "young persons engaged in labour anywhere," or even restrict the number of apprentices employed by any one master. But Peel objected. He wanted to see how a reform would work, agreed upon by cotton masters, and did not wish to "encourage a speculative innovation." [1] The Bill was passed on 2nd June 1802.

Many questions of great interest arise in connection with this first attempt to regulate child labour. It is clear from what has gone before that already a great deal of child labour was free labour, despite Peel's later assertions to the contrary [2]; and the attempt to adapt the old apprentice Act of Elizabeth to the new conditions was from the first hopelessly inadequate. The spectacle of the wealthiest manufacturer of England going to the House of Commons and saying he was too busy in Parliament to look after his mills, but asking his fellow-members to legislate away the abuses which he was sure existed there and elsewhere, is farcical. Perhaps even more ludicrous is his annoyance with other people who wished his measure to be more stringent. It will be observed that under not very exceptional circumstances the children might still be employed for fourteen and a half hours per day, without incurring any legal penalty. When it is remembered that the greater number of cotton factories were in remote places, because driven by water power, it will be seen how futile was the essentially rotten system of inspection. As a matter of fact, the Act accomplished little or nothing, although it was a public Act, and all Justices were required to act upon it without special pleading. Perhaps for a year or two it was enforced in some places; at all events a number of petitions against it were presented in the following year from various parts of the country. On 11th February 1803, for instance, petitions [3] were presented to the

[1] On the other hand, Mr William Wilberforce, one of the members for Yorkshire, though in favour of a general measure, thought the Bill went too far, and objected to restriction of hours of labour at night. As "Alfred" has remarked, it is curious that he should have been untouched by the horrors of the practical slavery in his own country while devoting his life to the mitigation of cruelties far away.

[2] *Evidence.* P. 134. But he admitted that worthy magistrates of Manchester objected to his measure because he did not extend it.

[3] *Commons Journal*, 1803. (Vol. lviii., p. 149.)

"A Petition of the there Under-signed Cotton and Woollen Spinners residing in the Towns and neighbourhood of Manchester, Bolton and Stockport. And also,
do. of City of Glasgow.
do. of Town and Neighbourhood of Preston (Lancashire).
Were severally presented to the House and read: setting forth, That by an Act, passed in the last Session, for the preservation of the health and morals of apprentices, and others employed in cotton and other mills,

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House of Commons from the cotton and woollen spinners of Manchester, Bolton, Stockport, Glasgow and Preston objecting to the regulations of the Act.

In the same month many other petitions reached the House of Commons, but no action was taken, and everything points to the fact that manufacturers merely ignored the Act, while the public was quite ignorant of it. It is difficult to know what hardships the manufacturers experienced under it, except that where adult labour was dependent on child labour the factories might have to be closed at night.

The Manchester Board of Health as a body never took any steps other than those of a strictly medical and sanitary nature. In its Fifth Annual Report regret is expressed by the Board that it "has not yet been able to proceed to those other objects which at its first establishment it professed to have in view." On 10th December 1801 it did issue a pamphlet, "Instructions to the Poor," dealing with the importance of mothers seeing that children who worked during the night should have proper rest during the day; but there is no reference whatever in the later reports to the Bill of 1802. However, Sir Robert Peel's evidence in 1816, before the Parliamentary Committee of Inquiry then sitting, leaves no doubt that the connection between the Board and the Bill was very close.

THE FACTORY ACT OF 1819 AND ITS EVIDENCE OF CONDITIONS OF CHILD LIFE IN MANCHESTER, AND OF PUBLIC OPINION

We must now follow another line of influence, resulting in a less important Bill, but a much wider publicity of the need for factory legislation, and in the beginning of a continuous effort to bring about an effective control of the employment of children in factories.

In 1787 there came to Manchester from London a young Welshman of twenty-six, destined to become in a few years a famous cotton-spinner and philanthropist, and one of the most enlightened and original-minded men of his time. Robert Owen [1] arrived in Manchester at the beginning of a phenomenal fifteen years' boom in the cotton trade, and took advantage of his opportunities; but always, like Cobden forty years later, he was educating himself, and full of eager interest for the

and cotton and other factories, certain rules and regulations were prescribed, which are in a high degree prejudicial to the Cotton trade in general, and of such a nature, in many instances, as experience will show to be impracticable: And therefore praying that leave may be given to bring in a Bill to repeal the said Act or otherwise to amend and modify the same.

"And the said petitions were severally ordered to lie on the table."

[1] *Robert Owen, a Biography.* By Frank Podmore. And *Life of Robert Owen Written by Himself.*

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welfare of those about him. So he became a member of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, founded in 1781 by Dr Percival, whom, along with John Dalton, he now met; and his name appears seventh on the list of those forty miscellaneous gentlemen who, in addition to doctors, magistrates and the like, formed the Committee of the Manchester Board of Health in 1796. He was no doubt fully acquainted with the question of employment of children when in 1800 he became chief partner in the firm which took over the New Lanark mills from Robert Dale, whose daughter he had married shortly before. His impression of the work-people at New Lanark was very different from, and far less favourable than, that of Dale, and in view of his much closer acquaintance with them [1] it is almost certain he was right, though Owen was so egotistical that he always had a tendency to magnify the part he himself played. We cannot here trace all his interesting reforms and experiments at New Lanark, but from the first he was desirous of discarding the labour of children below the age of ten, and increasing their schooling; he did both. He also wished to restrict their hours of labour very materially; he could not, however, persuade his partners to agree to a ten and a half hours day until 1816. It was Robert Owen who, some ten years after the passing of Sir Robert Peel's first Bill, set to work to secure further legislation on behalf of children in factories. Owen's arrangements at New Lanark were famous not only in the United Kingdom, but on the Continent, and when in January, 1815, he called at Glasgow a meeting of cotton manufacturers there was a good attendance of important business men. In his autobiography Owen says:

> "I stated to the meeting my object in calling it, and first proposed that an application should be made to Government to remit the tax upon the raw material of the cotton manufacture. This was carried unanimously by acclamation. I then proposed a string of resolutions to give relief to the children and others employed in cotton, wool, flax and silk mills. They contained the same conditions which I afterwards embodied in a bill which *I* induced the first Sir Robert Peel to propose for me to the House of Commons." [2]

Owen found the Glasgow manufacturers would have nothing to do with his philanthropic proposals, and consequently he, with characteristic bluntness, refused to take any steps on the first resolution. He accordingly decided to try to get a measure passed by Parliament, and forty years later he gave his account of the steps he took, and freely expressed his

[1] Dale lived twenty-seven miles from New Lanark and was seldom there more than one day in three or four months. *Evidence before Select Committee.* P. 25.

[2] Owen. *Life, by Himself.* Vol. i., p. 112, and vol. iA, Appendix F (speech and outline of Bill prepared by Owen).

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disappointment with the upshot of four years' persistent effort. First he waited on the leading members of both Houses, and Lord Lascelles offered assistance and the use of his name in calling meetings of members. At a final meeting called by Owen and Lascelles to consider who should take charge of the Bill and introduce it into the House of Commons it was suggested that Sir Robert Peel should be asked. Owen called on Peel, and this was the first intimation Peel had of the proceedings. Owen's account continues:

> "When I informed him of the support which I was offered from the leading members in both Houses, he very willingly accepted the offer, and agreed to attend the next meeting of the favouring members, that he might learn their wishes as to the best mode of proceeding. He did so; and at that meeting all the arrangements were concluded for introducing the Bill into the House of Commons with all the clauses as I had prepared them." [1]

Thus Owen claimed that it was he who originated the second attempt at factory legislation, and that the Bill introduced by Sir Robert Peel into the House of Commons in 1815 was framed by him. On the whole, Peel's statement before the House of Commons' Committee of 1816 bears out Owen's claims. In tracing the history of the Bill which he had introduced the year before he said: "A worthy man produced a plan to me, which I am not ashamed to own, and I conceived that the intention of that gentleman was so good, and his wishes so earnest, that I did not lend an unwilling ear to him." Doubtless Robert Owen was the "worthy man"; and it is clear that Peel was not prepared to go the full length of Owen's plans and desires. To conciliate his fellow-manufacturers Peel lessened the stringency of the Bill as framed by Owen, and before all was done it underwent, for the same reason, further and further modifications, until its first parent could scarcely recognise, and was almost disposed to disown, his offspring.[2]

> "Had Sir Robert Peel (Owen grumbled some forty years afterwards) been so inclined, he might have speedily carried this Bill as it was through the House of Commons during the first session, in time for it to have passed triumphantly through the Lords. But it appeared afterwards that he was too much under the influence of his brother manufacturers; and he allowed this Bill, of so much importance to the country, the master manufacturers, and the working classes, to be dragged through the House of Commons for four sessions before it was passed, and when passed, it had been so mutilated in all its valuable clauses that it became valueless for the objects I had intended.
>
> "At the commencement of these proceedings I was an utter novice in the manner of conducting the business of the country in Parliament. But my intimate acquaintance with the proceedings for the four years during which this Bill was under the consideration of both Houses, opened my eyes to the conduct of public men, and to the ignorant, vulgar self-

[1] Robert Owen. *Life, by Himself.* Vol. i., pp. 113-116.
[2] Espinasse. *The First Sir Robert Peel.* P. 149.

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interest, regardless of means to accomplish their object, of trading and mercantile men even of high standing in the commercial world. No means were left unturned by those men to defeat the object of the Bill in the first session of its introduction, and through four years in which, under one futile pretence and another, it was kept in the House of Commons." [1]

Owen's remarks were forcible and bitter; but the following pages will show that they were at all events largely justified by facts, though he was probably wrong in supposing that Peel could have easily passed the original Bill: the great difficulty of obtaining later legislation suggests that while Peel may have been too pliant and conciliatory, Owen seriously underrated the strength of the opposition.

On 6th June 1815 Sir Robert Peel introduced the Bill for which Owen had been working, under the title: "A Bill to Amend and Extend an Act made in the forty-second year of his present Majesty (George III.) for the Preservation of the Health and Morals of Apprentices and others employed in Cotton and other Mills and Cotton and other Factories." Its chief proposals were that no child under ten should be employed at all, and those who were employed from ten to eighteen should normally work only ten or ten and a half hours per day.[2] In consequence of opposition in the House of Commons he did not press forward with the Bill, but obtained the appointment of a Select Committee "On the State of the Children employed in the Manufactories of the United Kingdom," which took evidence from some forty witnesses between 25th April and 18th June 1816. Manchester and district figure largely in the evidence, and it is clear that the Committee regarded the problem as largely centring there, though existing also in all the manufacturing districts. The evidence is conflicting, though to a modern reader there can be no doubt where the truth lay; what is most astonishing is the lack of accurate and incontestable evidence. Apparently no manufacturer knew what went on in anyone else's mills, except by hearsay [3]; no inspectors' reports were available (though in 1818 returns appear to have been called for by a Select Committee of the House of Lords); and it was only possible to gather from

[1] Robert Owen. *Life, by Himself.* Vol. i., p. 116.

[2] Hansard (report of Peel's speech) says ten hours; copy of Bill (Owen's *Life.* Vol. ia., p. 24) says ten and a half.

[3] Peel said he had never visited any other mills but his own (*Evidence before Committee.* P. 134). He did not even know whether his own mills employed children under nine. Owen spoke to same effect. George Gould was asked (*Evidence.* P. 99): "Did you visit the various factories of which you have made a return to the amount of twenty-two?" His answer explains how such horrors as Blincoe has described could go on unchecked. "It was not likely that I should, for there are many factories that even a friend cannot get to look at, and during this present discussion of the subject there would be an indelicacy in endeavouring to go into factories."

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operatives and Sunday school teachers what was actually going on.

Peel was himself ordinarily chairman, but when he gave evidence on 21st May, Viscount Lascelles took his place. Peel handed in a long written statement from which the following is taken [1] :—

> "I most anxiously press upon the Committee that unless some Parliamentary interference take place, the benefits of the Apprentice Bill will soon be entirely lost, the practice of employing parish apprentices will cease, their places will be supplied wholly by other children between whom and their master no permanent contract is likely to exist, and for whose good treatment there will not be the slightest security.
>
> "If this should come to pass the great effort of British ingenuity, whereby the machinery of our manufactories has been brought to such perfection, instead of being a blessing to the nation will be converted into the bitterest curse."
>
> "Large buildings (said the speaker later) are now erected, not only as formerly on the banks of streams, but in the midst of populous towns, and instead of parish apprentices being sought after, the children of the surrounding poor are preferred, whose masters being free from the operation of the former Act of Parliament are subjected to no limitation of time in the prosecution of their business, though children are frequently admitted there to work thirteen or fourteen hours per day at the tender age of seven years, and even in some cases still younger. I need not ask the Committee to give an opinion of the consequence of such a baneful practice upon the health and well-being of these little creatures."

Owen was before the Committee several times. His evidence is certainly not satisfactory, except when it concerns New Lanark [2] ; and profoundly interesting though his views and his experiments were, they scarcely come within the scope of our survey. We must, however, note that Owen thought that twelve was the earliest age at which full work should be done, and it should then not exceed ten hours per day ; that he did not think it necessary for children to be employed under ten years of age in any regular work—they should be instructed and given exercise, he said ; he did not believe that either adults or children were better off for child labour,[3] and he was

[1] Sir Robert Peel to House of Commons Committee. 1816. Evidence (written), 21st May.

[2] He did not know whether there were in Manchester any children neither at work nor at school ; he gave the temperature of a Carlisle mill as 60°-70° from his general impression ; and he repeatedly insists that he never places anything on his memory if he does not see the importance of it. Again, some of his own reforms had only been tested for six months.

[3] "Do you believe from the manufacturing wages paid at Manchester, that were the parents prevented from employing the children the hours they do now, it would not be a great and serious inconvenience to the parties ? I believe it would be quite the reverse.

"What are the grounds of your opinion ? From all the experiences of my life, I have uniformly found that where children were not employed at an early age by families, those families were generally in a more comfortable and respectable situation in life than those families where the children have been employed at an early period." *Evidence.* P. 37.

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absolutely sure that shorter hours would pay,[1] and he made what appears to be the first proposal for indirect compulsion of the education of children in the following suggestion "that the children of either sex shall not be admitted into any manufactory after a time to be named until they can read and write is a useful manner, understand the first four rules of arithmetic; and the girls likewise to be competent to sew their common garments and clothes." [2]

Much of Owen's evidence dealt specifically with Manchester. In answer to a question whether the schools established upon Bell's and Lancaster's and other plans at Manchester would be sufficient for the instruction of the children there, till the time that they should be regularly employed in manufactories, he replied:

> "When I was in Manchester last year there was more school room than children to fill it, and upon inquiring the reason, I found that there were such strong inducements held out from the different manufacturers of the town and neighbourhood to the parents to send the children early to work that it counterbalanced any inclination such people had to send them to school; therefore the schools were not filled, nor nearly so." [3]

Many others gave evidence about Manchester. George Gould, a fustian finisher, had collected from boys in Sunday schools the hours of labour in twenty-two factories. Nearly all showed about fourteen hours' work daily from Monday to Friday, and ten on Saturday. During these hours from forty to sixty minutes was allowed for dinner, but breakfast and any other meal was taken standing while the machinery was running. He had also collected statistics of attendance at Sunday schools and found only one-third of the total scholars

[1] Owen declared that, Bill or no Bill, he would not go back to longer hours than those he had instituted at the beginning of 1816. He was quite satisfied from his returns that the work was so much better done that there would be no loss—a conclusion not accepted by the sceptical committee, as the following shows:—

> "Do you, as an experienced spinner, or a spinner of any kind, mean to inform the Committee that machines that you employ for throstle and water spinning can produce an additional quantity from any other cause whatever but the quickening of the motion of the machine?—Yes, as an experienced spinner I do say that it may.
>
> "Have the goodness to state from what cause it can proceed?—From saving breakage, from the superior attention of the people to all their operations, from not losing a moment when the work commences, or when it ceases, and from the individuals in the previous process paying much more attention in the preparatory stages of the manufacture." Owen's evidence. (P. 94.)

James Watkins, later, gave similar evidence.

[2] Forty years earlier Adam Smith had urged in *The Wealth of Nations* (Bk V.) that no one should be allowed "to set up any trade in a village or a town corporate without passing a public examination in the most essential parts of education."

[3] *Evidence*. P. 24.

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were employed in cotton factories, whereas he had expected one half. He supposed the others were too tired to go, but he had no figures to show how many children in Manchester were employed. Some members of the Committee tried hard to prove that to make children dead tired was good for the peace and tranquillity of the town, especially as the shortening of children's labour would mean the shortening of adult labour also.

One doctor submitted that it was impossible to fix any limit to the hours which might be worked by children without injury. Short of twenty-four hours he saw no limit; another denied that exercise and rest were necessary for children; and several witnesses tried to show that factory children were healthier, cleaner and better behaved than other children.

On the other hand, several important Manchester doctors (including the senior surgeon of the infirmary) gave striking evidence as to the amount of sickness, especially from scrofulous diseases, due to working in factories. The evidence of Nathaniel Gould as to the reasons which prevented factory children from attending Sunday schools is particularly valuable:

> "There are two causes: the one is, I think, that the parents of the children that do not work in factories are more attentive to their children than those whose children do work in factories. . . . The other great cause, in my mind, is that the children having been confined so very much in the factories all the week, have less inclination to go to the Sunday schools, as well as their parents to send them. I think it is natural for many parents to wish their children to be as much as may be in the open air on the Sabbath day, in order that they may get some strength against they begin the work next week, and recruit themselves a little."
>
> "Have the children at Manchester, who work in factories, any means of instruction after they enter the factories, except what they derive from the Sunday schools?"
>
> "The length of their time of labour in the weekdays precludes all chances of any other opportunity than Saturday evenings, when it seems too much to expect or wish them to go to a school, and the only schools I have heard of for the occasion are two in connexion with Sunday schools, the scholars of which amount together only to about 170."

Much other evidence was forthcoming. Mr John Moss, who had been from February, 1814, to March, 1815, master of the apprentices at a cotton mill—Backbarrow—had on one occasion known children work from eight on Saturday night to six on Sunday morning; the same children had resumed work at twelve o'clock on Sunday night, and worked until five in the morning. Every Sunday children were employed in cleaning the machinery; their orders were to work from six to twelve; he had known children work, for three weeks together, from five in the morning until nine or ten at night, with the exception of an hour for meals; and he had frequently found the children asleep upon the mill floors after the time they should have been in bed. Injuries from machinery often occurred, and several

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of the children were deformed. The same causes which were operated to prevent the attendance of children at Sunday schools contributed to prevent their attendance at churches and chapels.

It is unnecessary to quote further from the large mass of evidence taken by the Committee,[1] but it must be repeated that much of it is sufficiently contradictory and unsatisfactory for us to understand that it was possible for opponents of factory legislation to make something of a case, unless, like Lord Liverpool, Sir Robert Peel and others, they were able to use their imagination and sympathy and brush aside such folly as the denial of any limit to the endurance of children or their need for recreation.

During the next eighteen months nothing at all seems to have been done, at any rate in Parliament, perhaps because Sir Robert Peel was absent from it. But in February, 1818, Peel introduced another Bill, but of much narrower scope than its predecessors. It related only to cotton mills, manufactories or buildings in which cotton yarn was made; the age at which children might begin work was lowered from ten to nine; the hours of attendance at mills were extended to twelve and a half, with half-an-hour for breakfast and one hour for dinner; the provision of the old Bill prescribing instruction was dropped in the new one; the clause respecting justices and the appointment of inspectors was retained, and penalties for infraction were to be from £10 to £20.

Peel explained that the alterations were not due to his own views, but were concessions to his opponents. Many of the speeches made were of a similar nature to those we have already noted. Peel himself now first stated that in consequence of employment in factories, Manchester, which used to furnish numerous recruits for the army, was now wholly unproductive in that respect. During the succeeding months various petitions were presented to the House of Commons for the Bill, and it is interesting to note that as in previous years operatives and magistrates were in support of the measure.[2] Another

[1] Extensive selections are given by "Alfred." *Factory Movement, op. cit.*

[2] *Commons Journal.* 10th February 1818.

"A Petition of several persons, being labourers above sixteen years of age, employed in cotton spinning manufactories established in *Manchester* and the immediate neighbourhood, was presented and read; setting forth, That the Petitioners and others of their description are, agreeably to the prevailing custom of Cotton Factories, generally engaged in work at the Mills of their employers from fourteen to fifteen hours, including the time allowed for dinner, every day of the week, except Saturday, when the working hours are somewhat reduced. . . . That the Petitioners, in representing their unfortunate situation, beg leave to observe that they also feel the unhappy condition of young children working in Factories, who in many instances are connected with the Petitioners, by the dearest

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petition was presented on 18th March. In the following year petitions in favour of the Bill were presented to the House of Lords. It is sometimes said that there were petitions against the Bill; but these do not appear to exist: a confusion has arisen with the Cotton Factories Bill also before Parliament at the time.

Outside Parliament a great deal of work was being done. Nathaniel Gould (whose son's evidence has been quoted) at Manchester devoted a great deal of time and money to the cause [1]; and Samuel Taylor Coleridge wrote two warm-hearted if rather diffuse pamphlets in support of the measure. These have only been quite recently discovered and reprinted privately.[2]

In the first (dated 18th April 1818) the four chief objections to the Bill are effectively answered, and as they cover most of the ground we may follow Coleridge briefly. First, objection was made to legislative interference with free labour; but Coleridge rightly answered that the whole arrangements of apprenticeship are an interference with free labour; and,

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ties of relationship, and from the lengthened and unwholesome character of such employment manifest early appearances of deformity in their limbs, and all the other evils of sickly and impaired constitutions; that the Petitioners entertain no hope of redress whatever, except from the humane interposition of Parliament, because some masters will always be found desirous of keeping their hands at work as long as possible, and others, better disposed, are unavoidably led to the adoption of this destructive example, that their yarns may not be brought to the market upon more unfavourable terms; that the Petitioners, who have for the last two years cherished the expectation of relief from the Legislature, cannot adequately express the concern they felt in learning, upon the conclusion of the last Session, that no provision had then been made for this purpose, and they now deem it indispensable to submit the peculiar hardships of their case to the humanity and protection of the House: And praying, That a law may be passed to restrict the time of actual labour in Cotton Factories to ten hours and a half each day, so as to allow within the ordinary space of twelve hours half-an-hour for breakfast and an hour for dinner; a regulation which was originally embraced in Sir *Robert Peel's* Bill, and is of general observance in other employments much less prejudicial to health than those of the Petitioners."

For a discussion on the occasion of the presentation of this Petition by Sir Robert Peel, see Hansard, 2nd series, vol. xxxvii., p. 264.

[1] See *Factory Movement, op. cit.*, p. 61.

While the fate of Peel's Bill in House of Lords was still uncertain, he allotted £5000 to the cause, in case of his death. "Alfred" says that in labour and expense Peel's Bill was Gould's Bill. He gives a very graphic account of young Robert Peel's visit with a gift of £50. When the future Prime Minister had gone, Gould turned to a friend, saying: "Robert is a good fellow; he little knows what I am spending in this business, but he means well, and I will not offend him."

[2] *Two Addresses on Sir Robert Peel's Bill (April, 1818)*, by Samuel Taylor Coleridge, with an Introduction by Edmund Gosse, C.B. (London, printed for private circulation, 1913.) The first, called *An Inquiry into the Principles and Tendency of the Bill, etc.*, is referred to by Podmore (*Life of Owen*. Vol. i., pp. 202-204) as "Anonymous."

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furthermore, that the labour was not free; and if it were then the contract would approach, on the side of the child, too near to suicide, and on the side of the employer, too near to manslaughter. Second, it was said this Bill would be only the first step in the universal control of labour by Government; but Coleridge held (wrongly, as we now know) that there were no other trades with the same conditions and hours of labour. Third, it was said that the inadequate means proposed to remove the evils would raise discontent through disappointment; to which his reply was that every indication showed the contrary would be the case, and some amelioration would be better than none. Fourth, many urged that manufacturers would, from "the humane spirit of this enlightened age, and the consequent growth and increasing influence of an enlightened self-interest" do what was needful to improve conditions of labour; Coleridge answered that it was notorious that the time and quantum of labour extorted from the children had been increasing within the last twenty years, and asked whether the enlightened self-interest of slave-owners had led to the abolition of the slave trade. In conclusion Coleridge worked out an interesting analogy between the Factory System and the Slave Trade. "The defence of the Slave Trade," he wrote, "exactly as the attempted defence of the system of the Cotton Factories, began with the bold declaration that the negro slaves were happy and contented; nay that they were far *better off* in every respect than the labouring poor and the peasantry in England. . . . This having been abandoned, the defenders rested their argument on the impropriety and inefficiency of all legislative interference with the freedom of Commerce."

On 27th April 1818 the Bill came up for third reading and passed the House of Commons by a majority of 65 in a small House of 117 members. The occasion was chiefly notable for a very able speech by the younger Robert Peel, in which he denied that either parents or children were free agents, and ridiculed the evidence of the chief opponent of the Bill, Finlayson, of Glasgow, who had declared the mortality amongst factory operatives to be 1 in 445 as against 1 in 50 for England and Wales.

The first and second readings in the House of Lords were in May. On the 8th the Earl of Liverpool said that it was part of the Common Law of the land that children should not be overworked, and that if all the Medical Staff of Manchester were brought to the bar of the House to prove that children worked more than fifteen hours a day without being thereby injured, he would not believe them. But the opposition of Lauderdale and of the manufacturers who had asked to be

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heard by counsel against the Bill was sufficient to cause Lord Kenyon to withdraw it till the ensuing session.

In February, 1819, the Bill was again brought before the House of Lords, and on Lord Kenyon's motion a Select Committee was appointed to inquire into the "State and Condition of Children employed in Cotton Manufactories of the United Kingdom." [1] The evidence taken was even stronger than that before the Commons Committee in favour of restriction of hours and conditions of work. Petitions in favour of the Bill were presented by magistrates residing in and acting for the counties of Lancaster and Chester on 27th April, another from "the inhabitants of Preston" on 14th June, and on the same day Owen presented the following petition:—

> "That the age of admission for children into Cotton Mills shall not be under Ten Years; and that the Hours of Labour *per* Day, for young Persons under Sixteen Years of Age, shall not exceed Ten and a Half, exclusive of Time for Meals and Recreation." [2]

At last, after four years of Parliamentary effort, the Bill became law on 22nd June 1819, but in such a form as to be almost worthless, even in its own narrow sphere. It was entitled "An Act to make further Provisions for the Regulation of Cotton Mills and Factories, and for the better preservation of the Health of Young Persons employed therein." [3] The first clause enacted that "from and after 1 January, 1820, no child should be employed in any description of work for the spinning of Cotton Wool into Yarn, or any previous preparation of such wool until he shall have attained the full age of nine years." Young persons under sixteen were not to work more than twelve hours a day (between 5 A.M. and 9 P.M.), exclusive of meals (thirty minutes for breakfast, one hour for dinner); but if called upon they were to make up for excess or shortage of water to the extent of one hour a day. For the rest, factories were to be washed with quicklime twice a year; the rules were to be printed; and fines of from £10 to £20 were to be imposed on manufacturers who infringed the provisions of the Act. But it is noticeable that no stipulations were made as to the instruction of young persons; nor were any inspectors appointed, or provision made for their appointment under the Act. Well might Robert Owen rage at the inadequacy of such an Act.

But the question of factory legislation for the amelioration of child life was now before the public, and it has been in some degree kept there ever since, though the fact must be remem-

[1] *Lords Journals*. February, 1819.
[2] 14th June 1819. 59 George III. *Journals of House of Lords*.
[3] *Statutes*. 59 Geo. III., cap. 66.

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bered that those who really know what is going on in industry have always been a comparatively small proportion of the population. Years afterwards it was still possible for Oastler and Shaftesbury to discover anew with horrified surprise all that Owen and Peel and their fellow-workers knew in the period we have just surveyed. Still, precedents had been established, and when more enlightened and humane days superseded those of the Napoleonic era new movements and men brought about many of the needed reforms. But it cannot be claimed that Manchester was their centre or supplied chiefly the driving power. For though Lancashire and the Cotton Industry loomed large, and were actively interested, it was in and from Yorkshire that the various agitations and movements between 1830 and 1847 were chiefly fought, and a consideration of them would consequently be out of place in this study of the influence of Manchester on the movement for the supervision and protection of children.[1]

[1] The subject is, of course, repeatedly referred to in later chapters, especially V. and VIII. There is an extensive literature on Factory Legislation. For a full bibliography see Keeling's *Child Labour in the United Kingdom*, Part VI. For a general survey see Hutchins and Harrison, *History of Factory Legislation*, or Cooke-Taylor, *The Factory System and the Factory Acts*.

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CHAPTER III

THE PROVISION OF ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN MANCHESTER BETWEEN 1800 AND 1833

In these days of accurate statistical returns in every department of our national and local government it is difficult to realise the scarcity of reliable figures a century ago; even the first census dates but from 1801, and very few educational statistics are available for Manchester prior to the work of the Manchester Statistical Society for 1834. A survey of the educational conditions of Manchester at the beginning of the nineteenth century must therefore of necessity be vague and incomplete, and consequently unsatisfactory.

Four important types of schools already existed in the Endowed schools, providing free education; the Day schools, founded by Churchmen or Nonconformists acting as religious bodies; the Private schools of all grades; and the Sunday schools.

Before considering these, let us pause to remember what was then missing with which we are now familiar. No publicly controlled schools, aided by public money, then existed; industrial, trade or technical schools were alike unknown; opportunities for higher education of adults were unorganised. There was not, and could not be (except for pauper children in workhouses) anything resembling inspection of schools by any authority; nor was there any obligation on children to attend school. Unfortunately, too, there were no trained, and few well-educated, teachers. Finally, there were no free libraries or other means of study available for those who could not afford to buy books, almost all of which, including the Bible, were published at prices quite prohibitive to the working-class purse.

ENDOWED SCHOOLS

THE MANCHESTER GRAMMAR SCHOOL

The most important means of education open to Manchester boys in 1800 was undoubtedly the Grammar School,[1] founded

[1] Wm. R. Whatton. *The History of Manchester Grammar School.* 1828. (Contains Latin and English versions of important documents.)
R. D. Hodgson, M.A. *A Short History of the Manchester Grammar School.* 1905.
J. K. Beard, D.L. *The Abuses of the Manchester Free Grammar School, considered by a Friend of Popular Education.* 1837.

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by Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exeter, in 1515. He intended it primarily for Lancashire boys,[1] they, he says, "having pregnnt witte," but having "ben most pte brought up rudely and idilly"; but the indenture of 1525—the "Foundation Charter" of the School—clearly states that "there shall be no scollar or infaunt, of what country or shire soever he be of, beyng man-child, be refused, except he have some horrible infirmite, infective."[2] All instruction was to be absolutely free. The foundation of all the work was to be "gramyer," which meant to the good bishop a live study of Latin and Greek as the gate to all worthy and useful knowledge. To make the scheme practicable he endowed the school with the income from corn and malt mills enjoying a monopoly in Manchester. Everything in the foundation deeds points to Hugh Oldham having had in mind the education of all boys who cared to come to the school, whether poor or not. For the deeds specify

> "yt evy Scole Maister and Ussher, for ev, from tyme to tyme, shall teache freely and indifferently ev. childe and scoller coming to the said scole, w. toute any money or other reward . . . whatsoever it be, except only his seid stipend and wage herafr specified."

Equally clear is the founder's intention that, while the older scholars should receive such teaching as would fit them to proceed to Oxford or Cambridge, there should be a "lower school" in which the elements should be taught; but the "infants" were expected to pass on into the "upper school" later.[3]

The founder and his able executors foresaw that times would

[1] See Whatton, *op. cit.*, p. 21, "The Statutes of the School." But it is curious that, according to the Indenture of 20 Aug., 7, Henry VIII. (1515),

> "Wm Pleasington was thereby appointed as the person who should first freely and without anything to be therefore given him, except his stipend, instruct in grammar all boys and children in the said town of *Manchester*, coming to him in the place appointed for the purpose." Whatton, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

[2] *Ibid.*, *op. cit.*, p. 28, "Acts and Ordinances . . . concnyng the scollers."

[3] "The tendency of splitting up ecclesiastical and educational functions (after the Reformation) at least made Grammar School teaching a possible profession for laymen. But the withdrawal of the clergy from teaching in the elementary schools did not bring about the introduction of a professional class of elementary teachers. It led, however, to the establishment of a distinct class of elementary schools, and more frequently still to special provision for "petties" (*i.e.* Fr. *petits*, children of the earliest school age) in or out of the Grammar School." This is clearly what happened at Manchester, where the High Master (priest or no priest, so he be no religious man (monk)) "shall allway appoynt one of his scollers, as he thynkithe best, to instruct and teche, in the one end of the scole, all infants that shall come there to lerne ther A B C prymer, and forthe till they begyne gramyer, and evy. moneth to chese a nother newe scoller so to teche infants." Foster Watson. *The English Grammar Schools to* 1660. P. 149.

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change, and with them the needs and function of the school, and power was given to the feoffees to make such alterations in the free school as might be necessary. So freely had this power been exercised that, three hundred years later, not only the letter but the spirit of Hugh Oldham had been widely departed from in some important particulars, and no longer was there a "free school," though "free places" still existed. The High Master now took a considerable number of boarders for whom the fee (including tuition) was £50–£60 per annum (with extras). Up to the opening of the National and Lancasterian School there were frequently seventy to eighty pupils in the lower school; by 1828 there were only thirty or forty.[1] In 1837 one exhibition in thirteen went to boarders in the High Master's house, only one in one hundred and fifty to day scholars.

In 1825 the Report of the Charitable Endowments Commissioners on the school was issued, which disclosed that even the payment by the boys of cockpenny had been customary until 1807; that a charge of one shilling per week was made for instruction in reading, writing and arithmetic; that the salary of the High Master had risen from £10 per annum to £600; and that in spite of much litigation over the milling rights, and mismanagement of the mills themselves, there was an annual surplus of nearly £2000.

During the High Mastership of Dr Jeremiah Smith a plan for the reorganisation of the school was promulgated, but when the trustees (only one of whom instead of all twelve was now an inhabitant of the parish) "were waited on by persons of influence and apprised of the strong wish which was entertained that the foundation should be made for the instruction of the poor, they replied, 'This is not a charity.'" [2]

In 1837 Dr Beard calculated [3] that

> "there is a sum accumulating somewhere equal, probably, to the support of six such establishments as the Lancasterian School in this town which educates about 1000 children at an expense of £350 a year. Yes, let it be well observed by the inhabitants of Manchester, that merely with the annual surplus of the Grammar School foundation 6000 poor children could probably be instructed at least as well as they are in the Lancasterian and National Schools."

Nothing, however, was done seriously to reorganise the school on a popular basis until 1867, and then in the changed circumstances the school only aimed at providing for secondary education.[4]

[1] Whatton, *op. cit.*, p. 9.
[2] *Abuses of the Manchester Free Grammar School, op. cit.*, p. 21.
[3] *Ibid., op. cit.*, p. 19.
[4] For a famous and illuminating account of the school in 1800, as it appeared to a scholar fifty years later, see De Quincey's *Confessions of an Opium Eater*, Part I.

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CHETHAM'S HOSPITAL

Second in interest to the Grammar School stood the famous Chetham's Hospital,[1] founded in 1649 by Humphrey Chetham for the free education and maintenance of poor boys from Manchester and certain neighbouring villages and townships [2]; but from the smallness of its numbers this notable institution was necessarily inadequate to the new conditions which had sprung up. Unlike the Grammar School, however, Chetham's kept closely to the original purpose of its founder, who decreed that it should be for

> "the children of honest, industrious and painful parents, and not of wandering or idle beggars, or rogues; nor that any of the said boys shall be bastards, nor such as are lame, infirm or diseased at the time of their election."

They were to be clothed, fed and instructed from the age of six years to fourteen, when they were to be bound out at the expense of the charity to some honest and useful trade. The only important change that had taken place in Whatton's day was the exact doubling of the number of scholars; as there was no prospect of an exhibition from Chetham's Hospital to the universities, and as the instruction was to qualify the boys "for the several trades in which they may be hereafter," there was no temptation for anyone to deprive the poor of its benefits.[3]

OTHER ENDOWED SCHOOLS

In addition to these well-known schools, there were certainly others whose history the present writer has been unable to trace. In *The Manchester Guardian* of 21st May 1821 the following are also given [4]:—

Name of School	*No. of Scholars*	*Annual Expenditure*
Green Coat	50 boys	£200
Collegiate School	50 girls	£40
Strangeways	10 boys	£100

Finally there may have been several schools similar to that referred to in the following note:—

> "By indenture 4th October 1763, John Markland and John Whitaker, executors of the will of William Purnall, deceased . . . assigned . . .

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[1] W. R. Whatton. *History of Chetham's Hospital.* 1828.

[2] The exact numbers were: Manchester 14, Salford 6, Droylesden 3, Bolton 10, Turton 5, Crumpsall 2; total 40.

[3] A small proportion of the endowment seems to have gone to rewarding the twenty-four feoffees who governed the school by the provision of excellent "governors' dinners," for, while the schoolmaster after 1808 received a salary of £60, the wines for dinners in 1813 amounted to over £150.

[4] See Appendix V. (*c*).

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the sum of £200 in trust that . . . (certain gentlemen) should put it out at interest for the endowment of a school in the chapelry of Newton in the parish of Manchester, and that the schoolmaster for the time being should, without fee or reward, instruct in writing, reading and accounts, a number of poor boys and girls living within the said chapelry, not exceeding fifteen. . . ."

However, as the indenture stated that if the master misbehaved the trustees might devote the money to another purpose, and as nothing seems to have been known of the school afterwards, it can scarcely have been important from 1800 onwards.

UNENDOWED SCHOOLS

SUNDAY SCHOOLS

But undoubtedly a much larger proportion of boys than could be accommodated in the two Endowed schools received some schooling; and there were girls. How and where were these taught? The more well-to-do in the many private schools for the sons and daughters of gentlemen; the poorer in the cheap day schools carried on by indigent, and often ignorant, men and women in private houses, barns or cellars; or in Sunday schools. No particulars appear to be still in existence of the second class, but unless a great and rapid deterioration had taken place by 1834, they were practically useless educationally.

Sunday schools had, however, been in existence since 1781—that is to say, from the beginning of the new movement under the guidance of Robert Raikes, of Gloucester. For in that year Mr Fildes [1] opened a Sunday school in a Manchester cellar, a second in a garret, and a third in the first room in Manchester built expressly for Sunday school purposes, a room erected at Mr Fildes' own expense, behind his own dwelling-house in the neighbourhood of London Road. In 1784 (10th August) the borough reeve and constables issued an address recommending the establishment of Sunday schools. A meeting was held on 28th September at the Bull's Head, when a committee was formed, with Sir John Parker Mosley as president. Churchmen, Dissenters and Roman Catholics served on this committee, and it was not until 1800 that sectarian disputes caused a rupture. On 3rd January 1785, at a meeting held in the Manchester Hotel, rules were drawn up for the government of Sunday schools in Manchester; and on 3rd September 1788 a rule was adopted by the Joint Committee of Sunday Schools that writing should not henceforward

[1] Axon, W. E. A. *Annals of Manchester*. 1781. See Tyerman's *Life of Wesley*, iii. 350. Fildes was a Wesleyan.

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be taught in the schoolroom. In view of the common opinion voiced so frequently throughout the long struggle we are tracing, that attendance at Sunday schools was sufficient evidence of satisfactory education being received, this rule is important; likewise it must be borne in mind that only in the very earliest days of the movement were Sunday school teachers remunerated. The plan of joint management was copied in other parts of the kingdom. Rooms were hired in dwelling-houses, and teachers were for a time paid. The first building appropriated solely to Sunday schools was a group of cottages in Gun Street, Ancoats, the gift of Simeon Newton.[1] The first statistics available for Sunday schools in Manchester near the beginning of the century are those presented by George Gould [2] to the Select Committee appointed to inquire into the condition of children in factories in 1816. Presumably this was a complete list, for the total number of scholars on the books is roughly one-fifth of the total population of Manchester and Salford in 1801, and almost exactly one-sixth that of 1811. Almost all the children of the working class must therefore have been on the books of some Sunday school or other; but on the occasion of Gould's last visit only two-thirds were in actual attendance. Of these again nearly one-third were employed in cotton-spinning factories. Gould appears to have been able to trace only about 170 attending Saturday evening schools. The number actually present in schools of the Established Church was 4560, in those of Roman Catholics 344, and in those of Dissenters of all denominations 6159.

From a return of 1850 [3] of the Church and Denominational (Sunday) Schools in Manchester, showing the date of their establishment, it appears that by 1800 there were in Manchester and Salford 17 Sunday schools (8 belonging to the Established Church, 6 to Wesleyans); between 1800 and 1830 no less than 40 other Sunday schools were founded in Manchester alone (10 Established Church, 3 Roman Catholic, 12 Wesleyan, 11 various Dissenters, 4 "others"); in Salford the total for the same period was 12.

Unfortunately the figures in these two returns are not easily comparable, but their general accuracy is borne out by a third and much more complete and comprehensive set of statistics contained in the first issue of *The Manchester Guardian*, 5th May 1821.[4] The compiler, "N. H.," considered

[1] Details from Axon's *Annals*, *op. cit.* Newton's was not the first Sunday school in Manchester as stated by Mrs Banks in *The Manchester Man*. In 1785 Raikes published in *The Arminian Magazine* an account of his work in Gloucester. He originally paid his teachers one shilling per Sunday for teaching children to read, say Catechism, etc., from 10 A.M. to 12 noon, and 1 P.M to 5.30 P.M.

[2] *Evidence*, *op. cit.*, p. 97. [3] See Appendix V. (*b*). [4] *Ibid.* V. (*c*).

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the returns recently obtained by Lord Brougham, through four clergymen of the Established Church, quite inadequate; according to his own figures, the number of Church schools alone was 19, and of Dissenters' 46, making altogether 65, and affording gratuitous instruction to 23,000 children.[1] At five schools (all Dissenters) writing was taught to a few scholars and at two writing and accounts; the total number of boys and girls thus instructed is only stated to be 250.

DAY SCHOOLS IN CONNECTION WITH SOME RELIGIOUS BODY

As far as can be ascertained, no day school directly connected with any church or chapel existed in Manchester prior to 1800. But in that year, according to the returns of 1850,[2] two were founded in connection with the Established Church at St Mark's, Cheetham, and All Saints', Newton; between that date and 1830 seven other day schools were started in Manchester (only one Established Church) and three in Salford. No returns were made of the number of scholars attending.

The first comprehensive returns again appear to be those of 1821.[3] From this it appears that, omitting the Endowed schools, there were 6 Boys' schools connected with the Established Church, educating 781 boys at an average annual cost per boy of about 15s. 6d.

The Dissenters are not credited with any Boys' school except the Lancasterian (see next section). This and the Roman Catholic school together taught 890 boys at an average annual cost per scholar of about 8s. 3d. The non-endowed Girls' schools in connection with the Established Church educated 301 girls at 18s. 8d., besides 30 girls in the Ladies' Jubilee School, who were taught, clothed and boarded by voluntary subscriptions for £8. 6s. 8d. per girl per annum.

The same schools, together with the Lower Mosley Street Unitarian Girls' School (35), taught 381 girls presumably at almost the same cost as the boys, the Unitarians, however, spending £1. 6s. per girl.

In 1800, then, there existed no school system capable of extension and encouragement by State or municipal support and control which might have led to a national system of education. True, there were numerous and in some cases wealthy endowments, but apart from the inherent difficulties of remodelling endowments which became manifest after Lord Brougham's Commission, the whole needs of the country could not have been met from this source. Again, there was the immemorial obligation of parishes to look after their own poor

[1] The average cost was not quite 2s. 6d. per scholar per annum.
[2] See Appendix V. (*b*). [3] *Ibid.* V. (*c*).

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children; but the old Poor Law was a far more unsatisfactory education authority than the new has proved, even had pauper children been the only children who needed teaching and training. The time was already at hand when the foundations of our national system were to be laid on entirely new lines.

THE ROYAL LANCASTERIAN SCHOOL, MANCHESTER

It was in 1798 that both Bell [1] and Lancaster [2] started their educational efforts which some ten years later gave us "National" and "Lancasterian Schools" respectively, with a long story of rivalry in their aims and methods, and of invaluable work for elementary education. Very soon both types of school were established in Manchester. Again, unfortunately, the early records appear to be lost, but from a report of the Committee of the Royal Lancasterian School, Manchester, in 1819, we know that the work had already been going on for nine years, and had met with increasing success, since the debt had been reduced from £2341 to £566. The number of boys at this time was 638 and of girls 285, which later increased by about one-fifth. The earliest report giving names of subscribers is 1836, but doubtless the same men had long helped with their money and labour.[3] The Chairman of Committee was then William Neild, a Quaker, later a prominent member of the Manchester Society for Promoting National Education, and amongst other names may be noticed those of Dr John Dalton and Shipley Neave, also members of the Society of Friends, and John Owens, destined fifteen years later to found the Owens College, now the Manchester University, and S. D. Darbishire, a Unitarian, and father of the better-known R. D. Darbishire, one of the Whitworth Trustees.

THE NATIONAL SOCIETY IN MANCHESTER

The undenominationalists of the Royal Lancasterian Association (after 1814 the British and Foreign School Society) were undoubtedly at work in Manchester before the followers of Dr Bell; for "the Second Annual Report of the Manchester and Salford Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church, with a List of Subscribers and Benefactors" is dated 1813.[4] Two schools

[1] Robert Southey. *Life of Dr Andrew Bell.* See also Dean Gregory. *Elementary Education.*

[2] David Salmon. *Joseph Lancaster.* See also H. B. Binns. *A Century of Education.*

[3] See Appendix XII. for many subscribers named in 1840 report, and compare names of Committee of Lancashire Public School Association, 1848.

[4] Among the Members of Committee elected on 10th January 1814 is Mr Robert Peel, M.P., Secretary for Ireland since 1812.

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had already been opened by that time, one in Manchester, at Granby Row, with 350 boys and girls, and one in Salford, with 400 boys and girls. The combination of religion, philanthropy, class consciousness and common-sense by which the promoters of these schools were actuated is well shown in the following extracts from this earliest extant report:—

> "The happiest effect (of joining the parent society) is that the selection of the books is placed in the fittest hands, and the mode of instructing poor children is committed to the guardianship of the legitimate rulers of the Church, who will certainly take care that the National Education shall in every particular correspond with the National Religion."

This sort of declaration largely explains the fierce resentment of Nonconformists to the nationalisation of education so long as that would mean control by the Church of England, as was certainly proposed by Sir James Graham in 1843.

The same report explains that, while much money has been spent on the education of the daughters of the poor,

> "some domestic qualifications have been entirely neglected. Hence the greater part of young women in manufacturing towns are totally ignorant how to make or mend the simplest article of dress. The Committee have engaged two steady women, fully competent to the task, to instruct the girls in knitting and plain sewing, and in cutting out the most necessary parts of wearing apparel. So that this important branch of female education is now taught daily in both the schools with every prospect of rendering an essential service both to the Church and to the public."

The Established Church undoubtedly felt that to it fell the heavy responsibility and the glorious opportunity of educating England; but by 1830, though the call was clearer and the conviction equally sure, some doubt had already arisen as to the ability of the Church to achieve its ideal. The report of that year shows three features common to many educational movements and institutions: the work and also the expenses increased, the subscriptions decreased, and a cry for help had to be sent out (while at the same time a charge of a penny per week per child was made).

The Bishop of Chester was President, and Sir Oswald Mosley appears amongst the Vice-Presidents, while the Committee was composed of the Clergy of the Parish of Manchester, the Borough Reeves and Constables of Manchester and Salford, and twelve other gentlemen; nevertheless there is a despairing note in several paragraphs of the report. For instance, we read that

> "The hope still survives, however faint it may have become through continual disappointment, that the National Schools of Manchester and Salford will not be suffered to languish in their present exhausted condition."

And the following extracts [1] are even more like the loud and

[1] *Report.* 1830. P. 7.

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brave bugle call for the last advance which the bugler well knows will be obeyed only by the devoted minority, and with but partial success by them :—

> "Surely this is not a time to relax our efforts in the cause which our venerable and enlightened Church has thus honourably and consistently supported: surely this is not a time—when the necessity of general instruction has become both more obvious and more urgent—when, in the decay of our own care and zeal and activity we witness the cause of education taken up, and fostered and promoted by every rival sect and party—when the information of the national mind, and the cultivation of the national principle, unless timely and strenuous exertions be employed to the contrary, will inevitably be usurped by those who will pervert them both to the purposes of national ruin."

Hence the resolve not

> ". . . timorously, unwisely and supinely to give up into the Hands of our Enemies that sacred and victorious weapon, which we have so long and successfully wielded in the Defence and Preservation of the Religion, the Virtue, the Welfare and Happiness of our Country."

MANCHESTER AND SALFORD BIBLE SOCIETY

Almost contemporaneous with the formation of the Lancasterian and of the National schools came the formation in 1810 of the Manchester and Salford Bible Society, a local branch of the British and Foreign Bible Society. One of the great motives of Protestant education since the Reformation in England has always been the same ideal that prompted Tyndale to say to a learned divine: "If God spare my life, ere many years I will cause a boy that driveth the plough to know more of the Scriptures than thou doest." This desire for universal first-hand knowledge of the Bible, and especially of the New Testament, lies behind the educational work of Luther, of Knox, of George Fox, of Wesley and the evangelical forces at work in the period with which we are now dealing; the study of the Bible must accordingly rank as one of the chief fruits of such education of the poor as existed. The reports of the Manchester and Salford Bible Society are valuable in two ways. They show in the first place the high prices of Bibles at the time, for although in the desire to sell rather than give away Bibles they fixed "a very reduced price," for the three most convenient editions, the cheapest Bible was 3s. 6d., the cheapest Testament alone 1s.—prices which were considerably below even the reduced prices fixed by the parent institution. In the first year the Society raised no less a sum than £2331, of which £1200 was voted to the parent society; in that year, too, more than 7000 copies of the Old and New Testament were sold, and this number increased every year up to 1846, when 96,511 copies were disposed of. But even more valuable is the information

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collected by the local society through an inquiry into the need for the Bible in certain districts in Manchester. For example, in 1813 the St Michael's district was visited, with the following results :—

875 houses and cellars were visited.

300 had Bibles or were taking them in, and of these 99 had old Bibles or parts of the Scriptures.

10 declined a ticket at present, but would purchase when they could afford.

105 could not purchase, but would gladly receive a Bible or Testament.

23 whole families were found in which not a single individual could read.

10 refused Protestant Bibles.

This district cannot have been a particularly bad one, for "in another district not very large upwards of 1000 families were found destitute of the sacred volume."

. . . . . .

It is tantalising to find that exact and complete records of educational opportunities and of the quality of education do not exist, and that some records are no longer discoverable. The main position, however, is perfectly clear. A great deal of enthusiastic effort was being put forward by the philanthropic, well-informed minority of Manchester people, who were moved by the terribly low standard of morals, behaviour and knowledge of large numbers, if not the majority, of "the children of the lower orders," as the old phraseology had it. But the effort was a perpetual struggle against the indifference of those who might have subscribed adequately; there were no organised educational bodies capable of undertaking the supply of elementary education for all; and such endowments as existed in Manchester did practically nothing to lessen the total number of ignorant and unoccupied children.

During these years until 1824 the Combination Acts of 1799 and 1800 were in force and succeeded to a large extent in preventing workmen from acting together in their common interests. Consequently their standard of living was grievously reduced, for wages went down while prices soared. Employers usually thought of their workpeople as mere items of the productive process, magistrates almost universally regarded their function as the protection of property and the social order as they saw it, politicians surrendered their stewardship of the welfare of the community as a whole to an imperfect and unfair attempt to let the new era of machinery and material progress have free play. But "the men and women of Lancashire and Yorkshire felt of this new power that it was inhuman, that it disregarded all their instincts and sensi-

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bilities, that it brought into their lives an inexorable force, destroying and scattering their customs, their traditions, their freedom, their ties of family and home, their dignity and character as men and women. If one sentence can sum up this impression, we might say, transposing Macaulay's words, 'Nowhere does matter exercise such dominion over man.'" [1]

[1] Hammond, J. L. and Barbara. *The Town Labourer*. P. 18.

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CHAPTER IV

EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS, 1830–1840

"Above all, let every class and every persuasion have access to this education. . . . I know not of a Unitarian nation, or a Methodist nation, or a Catholic nation, or a Protestant nation: I only know of a British nation."
THOMAS WYSE, M.P., at Manchester, 26th October 1832.

"If the Government had let the current of Education flow along or only in some measure (under the advice and guidance of our bishops and the dignitaries of the Church) aided and swelled that current, that current would have carried National Education throughout our valleys and into our towns and cities without its being sullied by the tampering of laymen, who do not understand the question they are meddling with. But at the same time I am free to admit (and that from the bottom of my heart) that the country has sorely wanted increased education."
Rev. HUGH STOWELL, 19th June 1837.

EMPHASIS has already been laid on education as an integral part of the whole social problem. It was only natural, then, that the years immediately following the first Reform Bill (1832), when slaves were emancipated throughout the Empire and the New Poor Law brought into existence, should witness the first efforts of the State to help on the education of the poor in Great Britain, especially as grants had for some years been made to schools in Ireland; and in 1833 the Government, while refraining from adopting Roebuck's comprehensive plan for national education, did at last vote a sum of money for educational purposes, as an aid to the voluntary associations already existing for the education of the poor. From this small grant has grown the whole system of help and control now centred in the Board of Education. In 1839, by an Order in Council, and against the wishes of both Houses of Parliament, but on the advice of the Government, the Crown appointed a Special Committee of the Privy Council for Education; from this date a central authority for Education existed, and a policy was rapidly developed through a succession of Minutes.

The events of this period are of peculiar interest to Manchester, both because Manchester was the first place to discover accurately what its educational needs and supply actually were; and also because the first secretary of the Committee of Privy Council on Education was Dr James Philips Kay,[1] a Manchester doctor of the same stamp as Percival, and a worthy successor to him.

[1] Better known by his later name of Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth.

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The Condition of the Working Classes of Manchester, published by Dr Kay in 1832 as a result of his nine years' work in Ancoats, is one of those truly appalling revelations which in one's youth make one wonder how people could rest till the horrors were abolished. It is only when one thinks of the remaining horrors, and the apathy of most people to-day, in spite of infinitely greater publicity given to conditions, and of social machinery to remedy the evils, that one can judge aright the "manufacturing districts" and their inhabitants. Nine men and women out of ten did not know then, just as many do not know now, the conditions of their own town, or if they do know, accept them as natural, and honestly think that the poor have too much done for them, and are really happy, and are, in fact, better off than the middle classes.

In the course of his survey of the conditions Dr Kay wrote:

> "In 1830-1831 the number of cases of pauperism (under the *old* Poor Law) was 45,842; each case represented 2½ individuals on the average. Therefore of the population of 142,026 it included 114,605 individual acts of relief; supposing these acts to have been administered at all times to different persons, then more than ⅘ of the whole population were relieved for an indefinite period of the four winter months."

Much of the poverty was due to excessive indulgence in alcoholic drinks. There were at that time in Manchester 430 taverns and 322 gin-shops, which abounded in the poorest districts, and about 300 beer-shops as well, making "1000 haunts of intemperance" in Manchester. One gin-shop which was observed between seven o'clock and ten o'clock on a Saturday night showed an average of 412 customers per hour. "More than half the inhabitants of Manchester were either so destitute or so degraded as to require the assistance of a public institution in bringing their offspring into the world." The infant mortality was, naturally, very high; half the children of the poor died before the age of five. "The strongest survive," remarked Dr Kay, "but the same causes which destroy the weakest impair the vigour of the more robust." [1]

Dr Kay was not content to enumerate evils which he believed to be preventable; he had remedies to suggest, and the first was the education of the poor. He hoped that funds would speedily be granted by Government so that the infant schools in Manchester might be extended until all the children of the poor were rescued from ignorance and from that bad example

[1] The rate of infantile mortality for 1914 was 105 per thousand births (in 1906 it was 132 per thousand). The rate in Shoreditch was 141, in Chelsea 67. The death-rate for ages one to five varies from 80 in the worst urban to 20 in the best rural district. Sir George Newman says: "The conditions which kill 105 children per thousand births maim and disable many of the survivors." Report of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education. 1915. (Cd. 8055.)

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to which they were then subjected in the lanes of our cities. He "hoped for schools of domestic economy—where those pernicious national prejudices of the poor, which, combined with neglect, occasion the great mortality of their children, may be removed, and they may receive wholesome advice concerning their duties as wives and mothers." But he believed that it was not so much the fault of the poor; they were victims rather than culprits. For he saw that "the increase in the manufacturing establishments, and the consequent colonisation of the district had been exceedingly more rapid than the growth of its civic institutions"; and he believed that Free Trade was necessary—"to the lack of it must be attributed the misery and want of the hand-loom weavers of the cotton trade"; finally, he looked to a reduction in the hours of labour along with provision of education (since shorter hours unaccompanied by education would result in wasted or misused time). In view of the position which Dr Kay was to hold seven years later, and the influence which he exercised on the development of English elementary education, it is interesting to see what he meant by education for the poor.

He said:

> "A system of National Education so extensive and liberal as to supply the wants of the whole labouring population must be introduced. . . . The ignorant are properly the care of the State. . . . If a period ever existed when public peace was secured by refusing knowledge to the population, that epoch has elapsed. The preservation of internal peace, not less than the improvement of our national institutions, depends on the education of the working classes. . . . The poor man will not be made a much better member of society by being only taught to read and write."

The education he looked for was to include (1) branches of general knowledge to provide rational amusement; (2) sciences connected with the occupations of working men (by developments of Mechanics Institutes); (3) the dissemination of correct political information; (4) the nature of social and domestic relations.

In addition to the State, the capitalist could do much for those in his employment; above all he should supply useful knowledge for the children of his workpeople.

Such was the actual condition of the city in which Dr Kay daily worked and which he knew intimately; such was the vision that inspired him then and for many years to come.[1]

In 1834, on a motion by Lord Kerry, returns were presented to Parliament on the Educational Supply in certain districts in Manchester. Many Manchester people felt convinced that

[1] But before he was placed in a position to attempt the realisation of his educational aims he obtained a wider experience as one of the commissoners of the New Poor Law, which position he retained up to 1839.

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the returns were very inadequate, if not indeed seriously wrong.[1] Consequently, at a meeting of the Statistical Society on 23rd April 1834, "a Committee was appointed to examine into the state of the Day, Sunday, Charity and Infant schools in the Borough of Manchester, and to report on the number of children contained in them, and the nature and efficacy of the instruction there received." [2]

The following is a brief summary of the report issued a few months later :—

10,108	scholars attend Day and Evening schools only.
10,011	attend Day and Sunday schools.
23,185	attend Sunday schools only.
43,304	Total receiving any instruction.

But 10,000 of these were under five or over fifteen. The population of Manchester was 200,000; the total number of children between five and fifteen was reckoned to be one quarter. Hence about 17,000 or one-third of all the children between those ages were receiving no instruction whatsoever.

The Committee reported that

> "no effectual means could be taken to render the Common Day Schools efficient until proper seminaries were established for the instruction of the teachers themselves, and till the idea is exploded that the task of education is the only one for which no previous knowledge or qualification is required. . . . It may well be doubted whether the instruction at Sunday Schools, inadequate as it may appear and as it really is, be not yet the most valuable that at present exists in the Borough for the children of the lower classes of the people. The state of Education in England presents a mortifying contrast to that of some of the countries on the Continent (*e.g.* Prussia and several German states). In this town, and generally throughout this country, the acquisition of Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic seems to be considered as constituting the finished education of the lower classes of the people."

The results obtained from the investigations in Manchester were important enough to warrant the same work being carried out in Salford, Bolton and other towns in the neighbourhood, where similar results were obtained. Then in many parts of England other associations took the same action. The Central Society for Education attached great importance to the Manchester returns, hailing them as truly scientific, and incomparably more valuable than the fiction of Lord Kerry's returns.[3] One of the bases for satisfactory progress—adequate

[1] They were so misleading, both by overstatement and by understatement, that they caused Lord Brougham to abandon his advocacy of a compulsory system. De Montmorency. *Progress of Education in England.* P. 77.

[2] Considerable extracts from the report are given in Appendix VI. The Committee included W. Langton, S. D. Darbishire, etc., with power to add to their number, and Dr J. P. Kay was amongst the first to be added in this way.

[3] *Central Society for Education.* 1st publication, 1837. P. 29.

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knowledge of the deficiency of instruction—had now been obtained. What action was to be taken in regard to the conditions thus revealed?

Richard Cobden[1] and other Manchester merchants and manufacturers opened communications with Thomas Wyse, M.P. for Waterford, and the most prominent member of the Central Society, which had just been established. Speaking years afterwards, Cobden said "he remembered so long ago as 1836, about the time when Mr Wyse, himself a Catholic, and Mr Simpson, of Edinburgh, came here to enlighten us and to agitate on the subject of education, that he had in his counting-house in Mosley Street ministers of religion of every kind for the purpose of bringing them to some sort of agreement upon a system which it was proposed to try to agitate."[2] But insuperable difficulties presented themselves.

The year 1837 brought to light in Manchester for the first time clearly and unmistakably the wide difference of opinion which, existing in all parts of the country, made any national system impossible for another generation.[3] The divergence was nothing new; it was only more obvious and more important as the necessity for the interference of the State became more certain. So long as the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society remained purely voluntary, and were merely friendly and stimulating rivals, their deep-seated divergence of principles was striking rather than dangerous. But when able and energetic men determined to establish a national system of education under Parliamentary control, then it became of the first importance to know what form that system should take, and what were the ideals before its promoters, and the principles underlying it.

[1] "It was in this far-off corner of the world (Sabden, near Clitheroe) that Cobden began his career as an agitator, and for a cause in which all England has long since come round to his mind. His earliest speeches were made at Clitheroe on behalf of the education of the young, and one of his earliest letters on what may fairly be called a public question is a note making arrangements for the exhibition at Sabden of twenty children from an infant school at Manchester, by way of an example and incentive to more backward regions." Lord Morley. *Life of Richard Cobden*. P. 23.

[2] *Manchester Guardian*, 25th January 1851. Report of First Annual Meeting of the National Public School Association.

[3] Extract from letter of R. Cobden to Mr Hunter (written in 1846, immediately after Repeal of Corn Laws): "That zealous and excellent educationalist, Stone, of Glasgow, seized upon me yesterday. 'I have often thought,' said he, 'that Lord Ashley or Mr Colquhoun was the man to carry a system of National Education through Parliament. But they have not moral courage; if you will take it in hand, in less than four years you will get a vote of twenty millions, and reconcile all the religious parties to one uniform system of religious education.' I replied that I had tried my hand on a small scale to unite the sects in Lancashire in 1836, but that I took to the repeal of the Corn Laws as light amusement compared with the difficult task of inducing the priests of all denominations to agree to suffer the people to be educated." Morley, *op. cit.*, p. 373.

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Manchester contained educationalists of the greatest earnestness and ability belonging to three distinct camps: (1) the voluntaries, (2) the "religious" "State aid" party, and (3) the "unsectarian" or "secular" party[1]; and unhappily for educational peace and progress, the most widely respected, the most devoted and the most eloquent churchman—the Rev. Hugh Stowell—now took his stand on identically the same ground as the National Society a few years before.[2] The unsectarian party were more fortunate in the leadership of Richard Cobden, a different type of churchman.

Curiously enough the first public action of Cobden and his friends seems to have been, not in Manchester, but in Salford, where a town's meeting was held in the Town Hall on 23rd September 1837.[3] Seven resolutions were passed, their purport being that the Government ought to undertake the provision of "mental improvement and moral training" for the whole population. Cobden was careful to specify that this must be gained "by a system based upon liberal principles, untinged by sectarian prejudices; having its management carefully guarded from partiality of every kind, and its funds securely protected against corrupt applications."' Wyse and Simpson of Edinburgh addressed the meeting at some length, and Cobden was regarded as the chief local speaker, all three being thanked "for their persevering and philanthropic efforts in the great and good cause of popular education." From this meeting petitions were sent to both Houses of Parliament embodying the resolutions adopted—apparently the first local petition.

Three days later a meeting was held in the York Hotel, Manchester, with James Heywood in the Chair,[4] at which a meeting in Manchester was fixed for 26th October, and a committee appointed. In a few days announcements of the meeting appeared, supported by 145 signatories, who included in their number many notable men from a large area around Manchester, such as Mark Philips, M.P., Richard Potter, M.P.,

[1] Further distinctions are possible. For instance, Mr Birchenough says: "The country was divided into five parties: (1) those who would have State-aided denominational schools under private management; (2) denominationalists who would admit a conscience clause; (3) undenominationalists; (4) those who would exclude religious instruction altogether from State-aided schools; (5) those who would have nothing to do with State aid in any form." *History of Elementary Education in England.*

But even this is obviously incomplete: there were also (6) those who believed that all education should be in the hands of the Church of England, and (7) those who believed that education was ruining the working class.

[2] See Chapter III., p. 39.

[3] *Manchester Guardian*, 27th September 1837.

[4] No report of this first meeting appears in the local Press; but the advertisement (*Manchester Guardian*, 14th October) of the second meeting states the above facts.

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Absalom Watkin, Alexander Henry, Joseph Brotherton, M.P., Jacob Bright (of Rochdale) and his son John Bright, and Ald. R. Cobden. According to Cobden,[1] there were 9 members of Parliament, 13 magistrates, and the secretary of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, while 38 Churchmen, 38 Unitarians, 23 Independents, 15 Methodists, 11 members of the Society of Friends, 9 Baptists, and 1 or more members of the Scottish Church, Roman Catholics, Moravians, Scotch Secession Church and a Swedenborgian made up the total.

The meeting was in due course held in the Theatre Royal. As was intended by its promoters, this remarkable gathering led to the formation of a branch of the "National Education Society,"[2] and might well have proved the beginning of a great movement. That it did not do so was due simply to the fact that very soon all other issues were overshadowed in the district by the titanic struggle for the overthrow of the Corn Law, and the natural leaders of the educational movement devoted their energies for the time being to the one essential of life more important than education—bread. Nevertheless the meeting was not without significance and importance. For the first time "men of various religious denominations, and of almost every shade of political opinion," combined to set forth their object—a comprehensive system of national education—actuated by a sense of duty to a large but neglected body of the surrounding community.

The number present at the meeting is stated to have been 2200 persons ("the large proportion ladies"), and including as it did all classes, and representatives from a radius of twenty miles, the gathering probably merits the description of the report as "one wholly unparalleled in the annals of our history." The scene was rendered even more striking and picturesque by the whole of the pit and stage being levelled and the whole theatre turned into a banquet-hall with brilliant illumination and oriental drapery. "The chair was vacated at a quarter after twelve o'clock and the assemblage immediately separated, apparently very highly gratified with the animating and philanthropic addresses to which they had listened with an attention unwearied and often riveted and intense during *more than five hours* of almost uninterrupted speaking."

Mark Philips, the senior member for Manchester, took the chair, supported by many whose names are as honoured as they are familiar in the district, not a few of whom devoted

[1] *Manchester Guardian*, 25th October 1837. Letter to Rev. H. Stowell.

[2] A short-lived but very important society, of considerable influence with the Government until 1839. (See article, Thos. Wyse, in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, and De Montmorency, *Progress of English Education*. Also W. E. Hickson. *Historical Sketch of Educational Movements preceding the Formation of the National Public School Association*. 1849.

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many years before and after this time to the cause of popular education.

The Chairman read a letter from Lord Brougham voicing the opinion he was never tired of expressing, that "the education of the working classes is beyond all comparison the most important subject to which the attention of the country can be directed." In response to the toast of "Infant Education" a long address was delivered by the pioneer in that subject, Samuel Wilderspin. It is astonishing and somewhat depressing to read so often the same complaints at various distant periods, and the same sound ideals. Perhaps it is that every generation of teachers has to arrive at enlightenment through age and experience, as does humanity in general. "The question would arise," he said, "What is Education?" and his answer would be that it consisted in training, in directing and in drawing out the faculties of the children. Education consisted not in teaching a child to do this or that by rote, but to do that which was right, and to abhor that which was wrong.[1] . . . Children must be managed by love, not fear. . . . Education had done little for men, and less for mothers, and if ever they had a proper system of education, they must include and educate the females even of the superior sort.

The most important speaker of the evening was Thomas Wyse, M.P. for Waterford. When he rose to respond to the toast of "National Education," "he was received with enthusiastic demonstrations of applause from all parts of the house, repeatedly renewed." The breadth of his view appears in the passage: "Above all, let every class and every persuasion have access to this education. I know not of a Unitarian nation, or a Methodist nation, or a Catholic nation, or a Protestant nation, I only know of a British nation." Not only did he want universal education; he wanted a real and efficient education; the education in Sunday schools was "a most meritorious service; but is it not, after all, a substitute?" and he accepted the strictures of the Statistical Society's reports on the majority of existing schools. Having denied "the efficiency and sufficiency of voluntary effort, and having praised the Prussian system, he continued:

> "The system that should be adopted in this country is a system in which the people and the legislature should combine. . . . The Government on the one side should give the impulse by establishing the foundations, and educating the teachers, having the proper exercise of inspection and reports; and on the other side the control of the people should be by the power of levying funds by an assessment for the support of the schools, in the appointment of their own teachers, and in having their own committees for its management."

[1] Wilderspin was in favour of physical and religious education. "Religion is not mere say, it is do."

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To dwell longer on the details of this notable meeting is unnecessary, though many other toasts and speeches followed. The points to be emphasised are briefly as follows. There were in the district of Manchester a large number of enthusiasts for education who, as early as 1837, believed that nothing less than a national system of elementary education would meet the needs of the time. Their aims and ideals may best be shown by a summary of the resolutions passed at a meeting held on 16th November, William Neild [1] in the Chair, when "The Manchester Society for Promoting National Education" was formed. Its object was "to obtain from Parliament a legislative provision for securing to all classes of the community an improved and permanent system of education. The practice of the British and Foreign School Society of prescribing Bible classes for every school and placing the entire volume of Holy Scripture, without note or comment, in the hands of every child (excepting from this rule only Catholics and Jews), is the best system hitherto devised for meeting the difficulties arising from the varieties of religious sects in this country." From the petition to the Government drawn up on the same day it is clear that, while "refraining from suggesting any particular plan," the promoters were well aware of the advances made by America, France, Prussia and Austria, and looked to some adaptation of them for the English system.[2]

Such a scheme, and the means by which it was being promoted, naturally failed to receive universal approval. Before the meeting in the Theatre Royal took place a pamphlet [3] had been published, urging that (1) the education of the people in evangelical religion is the only mode of rendering them virtuous and happy, and (2) even could any other mode be adopted, the State, in taking out of the hands of the parent the instruction of the child, is bound by exactly the same obligation as that which originally attached to the parent to give the child religious training. The author penned one paragraph which can scarcely fail to have on a modern reader the exactly opposite effect from that which he intended. He wrote: "The parties who first interfered in the business were not the parties who ought to have taken the lead in this town. The religious public does not know them, and their character is certainly

[1] Chairman of Committee of Royal Lancasterian School, 1836.

[2] This Committee contains the names of Alderman Callender, Alderman Cobden, J.P., S. D. Darbishire, Edward Herford, Absalom Watkin and John Mayson, who appear in later educational associations. Rev. W. Mackerrow, a Scotch Presbyterian presently of note, was a leading supporter; but few other ministers, if any, took an active part. The president, Wm. Neild, then Mayor, was a Quaker. One remarkable feature of the Society was a "Ladies' Committee" of fourteen.

[3] *Thoughts upon National Education to Professors of Evangelical Religion.* 21st October 1837. Anonymous (but in the style of Rev. H. Stowell).

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not improved by the indiscriminate jumble of Unitarians, Quakers, Methodists, Independents, Swedenborgians and churchgoers whose names swell the list of the Committee." Such words must mean that his own party had failed to discharge its responsibilities. A later paragraph shows not only the narrowness of his own views, but also the sympathy and close touch of the new movement with the work of the Manchester Board of Health of forty years earlier; for he refers to a speech at Salford of Mr Richard Potter, who spoke "in high terms of eulogium of the plans of education and recreation pursued at the mills at New Lanark, where he had seen 200 children dancing in a room in a manner—particularly the girls—that would have been a credit to the pupils of a first-rate dancing master. He wished such means of innocent amusement could be provided for the working classes in other parts of the country." The pamphleteer, however, took a different view, and concluded: "Amid the burst of laughter or of disgust and indignation which this effusion must excite, the writer respectfully withdraws from the public."

Whether this writer was the Vicar of Christchurch, Salford, or not, the tone is the same as that of a letter [1] signed by him a fortnight later.

In the Press as on the platform, Hugh Stowell's love of words often carried him away. He was probably the finest local public speaker of his time; and for many years the largest halls in Manchester were always filled if he was announced to speak. Sometimes he would hesitate for a word, and toss himself about for what seemed to his hearers almost a minute till it came; then the torrent of his eloquence resumed its flow. He was absolutely honest, fearless and uncompromising; a staunch Evangelical Anglican, hating Roman Catholicism, and scarcely more tolerant to Nonconformity, and withal a great worker in his large parish, beloved by rich and poor alike.

He now came forward to refute the whole position of the promoters of the "serio-comic scene enacted at the Theatre Royal." His own positions may be stated thus. Whatever the National Education Society might say to the contrary, "the bare proposal of a plan which shall comprehend all parties implies the exclusion of the unmutilated Bible, and hence the whole movement is really irreligious." But irreligious education was, he believed, worse than none; for he said that the National Education Society would be "only elevating man from the brute to approximate him to the fiend, only

[1] *Second Letter to the Inhabitants of Manchester*, by Rev. H. Stowell, 11th November 1837, in reply to a letter by Cobden in *Manchester Guardian*, 25th October 1837.

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putting power into the hands of evil." [1] But again there was "no such fearful destitution of instruction" as to warrant the scheme proposed: what was really wanting was leisure or inclination to learn; Sunday schools could accommodate all children if they cared to go, and thousands were absent from day schools because they were at work. Finally Stowell reached the important conclusion that "any scheme for the diurnal education of all must prove Utopian except it were accompanied by a system of coercion." [2]

Cobden replied to the Vicar of Christchurch in a very able letter, already referred to, and there the matter seems to have been left.

Despite the bitter attacks of Stowell, the Manchester Society for Promoting National Education continued its activities for some time, but in its report presented to the General Meeting of 3rd November 1841 the admission of scarcity of funds, so common in every society for voluntary education, had to be made, and a debt of more than £372 recorded; and probably the branch, like the Central Society for Education, became defunct in the following year. For then Duppa, the secretary of the Central Society, died, and Wyse, the most ardent and able leader, took a diplomatic appointment abroad, and the Government decided that the times were not favourable for the prosecution of the plans they had had in mind two years earlier. From the scanty surviving records of the Manchester branch it appears that only two schools, in Gould Street, and in Wilmot Street (boys and girls), came closely under the care of the Society, and that the number of scholars was decreasing. Clearly no tangible effect was produced on the educational destitution of Manchester; the report states distinctly that they saw "increasing destitution, accompanied, on the one hand, with the wildest and most anarchical notions as to the remedies for the evil; and, on the other, with the still more fearfully portentous fact of an habituation of discomfort and squalor, and scanty supply of the lowest necessaries; deep and dangerous demoralisation being the too obvious result." But their work was not futile or wasted. In their own modest words: "By means of their great meeting in 1837, and by promoting petitions to the legislature in favour of national education, they helped to arouse Christian Churches in some

[1] Cobden said Stowell accused them of "Diabolical machinations against the entire youth of the nation." This Stowell repudiated; he had "only said" what is quoted above. See Correspondence in *Manchester Guardian*, *op. cit.*

[2] "For such a system (the leaders) of the present movement seem to have a strong predilection," and it behoves "the people to beware lest their vaunted friends should inflict upon them a compulsory code, outraging their tenderest relationships, and violating the sanctuary of home." *Second Letter*, *op. cit.*

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degree to a sense of their duty in this matter, and so contributed essentially to that movement which led the Privy Council to form a Board of Education; and in the midst of unmerited opprobrium, they set a quiet example of usefulness, and established schools which have been found worthy of imitation by those who disapproved of the basis of the association."

Meanwhile the educational events of such national importance, to which reference has just been made, roused considerable feeling in Manchester as elsewhere. It was in April, 1839, that the Government having formed by Order in Council a Committee of Privy Council on Education, and appointed Dr J. P. Kay its secretary, published the famous "Minutes" of 1839,[1] constituting a declaration of policy for the development of national education. In their proposals to found a Normal school for teachers, with a Model school for children from the ages of three to fourteen, the system of combined secular but separate doctrinal instruction was to be followed, special facilities at specified times being granted to all denominations and Roman Catholics. This is not the place to follow the lengthy and thorough debates in the House of Commons, or the storms of protest in all parts of the country. They were sufficiently powerful to cause the withdrawal of the Minutes, though, with great courage, Lord John Russell persisted in the appointment of the Committee, and in obtaining the grant for the year.[2]

It is to be noticed that in Manchester the various parties may be seen protesting or supporting in their typical ways. On 1st June a memorial was signed by all the ministers and office-bearers except one of the Wesleyan societies in the borough, and sent to both members of Parliament.[3] They protested against being compelled to support systems of religion which they believed to be false and injurious; against the permission granted to Roman Catholics to use "notoriously corrupt and unfaithful versions of the Holy Scriptures"; and, after having spent so much as a religious body, and also paying taxes, being "prevented from availing themselves of national funds without being subjected to the dangers of doubt and infidelity" arising from the scheme.

The "Opponents of the National Education Scheme" organised a meeting on 7th June, but owing to the small

[1] See *Special Reports on Educational Subjects. Board of Education.* Vol. ii., p. 500. Printed in *Manchester Guardian*, 30th April 1839.

[2] The majorities were only 5 and 2 respectively. See Hansard, 3rd series.

[3] They were the Rt. Hon. Chas. Poulett Thompson and Mark Philips. The Wesleyans of Salford took identical steps. See *Manchester Guardian*, 1st June 1839, for full text of memorial.

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attendance it began twenty minutes late, and despite the fact that admission was by ticket only, a large number voted against the resolutions.[1] The chairman (Rev. C. D. Wray) practically restated the objections of the Wesleyan body, though his words were more forcible, as when he said that "as a minister of God's Word . . . he could not refuse to . . . do all in his power against this proposed infidel, he had almost said *diabolical*, system of mutual education." Other speakers followed, prominent as usual being Rev. Hugh Stowell, who spoke strongly against putting all control of education into the hands of a board of laymen (from which the clergy were excluded), with an avowed layman (Dr Kay) as secretary.[2]

Almost at the same date Mark Philips frankly confessed his inability to take the position of his Wesleyan constituents; and the Society, with which, as we have seen, he had identified himself—the Manchester Society for Promoting National Education—presented a petition to Parliament in support of the Government. The Society "hailed with great satisfaction and gratitude the establishment of a Board of Education in her Majesty's Privy Council as the first step in the performance of a duty which is imperative on every enlightened government."

It has already been shown that the political aspects of the educational proposals were so controversial that the Government only just escaped defeat on them. But in Manchester especially the Chartist movement was now powerfully agitating not only its supporters but those who viewed its progress with fear and alarm. The newspapers of the period are seldom free from accounts of large and sometimes turbulent meetings, and the trials of Chartists responsible for them. The connection between Chartism and the idea of a national system of free education was a real one, and undoubtedly many religious men, in Manchester more than most places, regarded the Government's proposals as laying the foundations of a godless nation. Those who aimed at disestablishment of the English Church, or interpreted Nonconformity as a negation to State interference in education, the handmaid of religious teaching, saw in the proposals another danger to the fulfilment of their ideals. And in Manchester a third reason for a slackening of educational effort must always be borne in mind. The

[1] *Manchester Guardian*, 8th June 1839.

[2] Stowell "believed the ministers were dupes of an artful physician, an empiric in spiritual matters, whatever he might be in physic; and he confessed that he thought it no great honour that Manchester owned him, though he had known and respected him in private life" (*Manchester Guardian, op. cit.*). In 1851 Stowell found himself working with Dr Kay (then Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth) on the Manchester and Salford Education Bill Committee.

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very men [1] who were the new leaders of the new education movement became the leaders of the Free Trade movement, and from January, 1839, absorbed almost the whole of their time and energy until the Corn Law was repealed. The need for bread appeared to be more pressing than the need for education.[2]

[1] Not that all educationalists were Free Traders; but Richard Cobden, John Bright, Thomas Bazley, W. R. Callender, W. J. Fox, T. Milner-Gibson and Joseph Brotherton are a sufficiently important list to justify the statement which, in other words, was made by Cobden more than once.

[2] Since this was printed *The Chartist Movement*, by Mark Hovell and T. F. Tont, has appeared. The following passage confirms the view taken in the last paragraph: "'How,' asks Lovett, 'can a corrupt Government withstand an enlightened people?' That was the principle on which Lovett would have based the Chartist agitation. It is the text of his pamphlet on *Education* and of his later book called *Chartism*. Lovett, however, had come to divorce his moral life from the teachings of Christianity. Arthur O'Neill, on the other hand, a young enthusiast in his early twenties, made no such distinction. The result was with Lovett 'Educational Chartism,' with O'Neill, 'Christian Chartism'—two movements which ran on in close kinship." (P. 200.)

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CHAPTER V

FRESH ATTEMPTS TO PROVIDE EDUCATION THROUGH FACTORY ACTS, AND THE GREAT EFFORT OF "VOLUNTARYISM"

THE Committee of Privy Council on Education, with Dr Kay as its secretary, continued to dispense the growing amounts of the Parliamentary grant through the National Society and the British and Foreign School Society. Considering the position in which he was placed after the withdrawal of the proposals for the Normal school and Model school in 1839, and the strength of feeling revealed at that time against any broad and generous treatment of the subject, it is very doubtful whether any of the responsible people can be blamed for the development of English Elementary Education on the lines actually followed. But few educationalists were satisfied that an adequate fight was being made against the enormous mass of ignorance which prevailed in practically all parts of the country and threatened to overwhelm the new industrial England so rapidly created. On 28th February 1843 Lord Ashley [1] moved the following resolution in the House of Commons :—

> "That an humble Address be presented to her Majesty, praying that her Majesty will be graciously pleased to take into her instant and serious consideration the best means of diffusing the benefits of a religious and moral education among the working classes of her people."

Lord Ashley painted a terrible picture of the ignorance, poverty and depravity of the manufacturing districts. "In spite of all that has been done," he declared, "a tremendous waste still remains uncultivated, a great and terrible wilderness." He calculated that scarcely more than one half of the children of England and Wales were receiving education in schools, and looking forward to the next ten years, he added, as picturesquely as truthfully: "Should nothing be done to supply our want, we shall then have, in addition to our present arrears, a multitude of untutored savages."

Ashley had in mind London and the new towns, especially Manchester and Birmingham; for all of which he quoted statistics showing the large number of pawnshops, beer-houses,

[1] Hansard. *Parliamentary Reports*. 3rd series. Vol. lxvii., p. 48 *et seq.* Lord Ashley became seventh Earl of Shaftesbury in 1851.

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public-houses, brothels, common lodging-houses and the like, as well as statistics of schools and scholars.

> "By the police returns of Manchester made up to December, 1841, we find the number of persons taken into custody during that year was 13,345; discharged by magistrates without punishment, 10,208; of these, under 20 years of age, there were males, 3069; and females, 745. By the same returns to July, 1842 (six months), there were taken into custody 8341 (this would make in a whole year, were the same proportion observed, 16,682); of these males, 5810; females, 2531. Now, as to their instruction: with a knowledge of reading only, or reading and writing imperfectly, males, 1999; females, 863. Able neither to read nor to write, males, 3098; females, 1519; total of these last, 4617. At fifteen and under twenty, 2360; of these, males, 1639; females, 721. But take what may be called the 'curable' portion, and there will be, at ten years and under fifteen, 665; males, 547; females, 118; discharged by the magistrates in 1842, without punishment (during six months), 6307, or at the rate of 12,614 in a year. Can the House be surprised at this statement when the means of supplying opportunties to crime and the practice of debauchery are so abundant?" (Here follow details of beer-houses, brothels, receivers of stolen goods, etc.)
>
> "But there is another cause that aids the progress of crime which prevails in the town of Manchester. I will mention the fact that a vast number of children of the tenderest years, either through absence or through neglect of their parents, I do not now say which, are suffered to roam at large through the streets of the town, contracting the most idle and profligate habits. I have here a return that I myself moved for in the year 1836, and I see that the number of children found wandering in the streets, and restored to their parents by the police in 1835 was no less than 8650, and in 1840 it was reduced to 5500. Having heard this table the House will not be surprised at the observations I am about to read from a gentleman of long and practical knowledge of the place:
>
> "'What chance,' says he, 'have these children of becoming good members of society? These unfortunates gradually acquire vagrant habits, and become beggars, vagrants and criminals. It does not appear unfair to calculate that in the borough of Manchester 1500 children are added to "*les classes dangereuses*" annually. Besides the moral evil produced by these 1500, let a calculation be made how much money per annum this criminal class costs the State.'" [1]

Sir James Graham, in his reply for the Government, agreed that "in the manufacturing districts of this country every thought of the human mind had been absorbed in the effort to accumulate wealth, and that the moral condition of the multitude had been most lamentably neglected. But, he urged, enough had been done to prove that the legislature recognised that the education of the people was the care of the State; and proceeded to explain what was about to be done, especially in regard to religious instruction, in the "Government Factory Bill." [2] In this Sir James Graham proposed compulsory education of children in workhouses, and those employed in textile manufactories, requiring daily school

[1] Statistics quoted by Lord Ashley in House of Commons, 28th February 1843. *Cf.* Dr Kay in *The Condition of Manchester in* 1832.

[2] The Bill, as originally introduced and as amended on 1st May, is analysed fully by Edward Baines, jun., in *The Religious, etc., State of Manchester and District.*

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attendance for at least three hours. The schools were to be maintained out of the poor-rate, and were practically to be in the hands of the Church of England, management, teaching and inspection being limited to the Established Church.

Many objectionable aspects of this Bill are now obvious; three were sufficiently acutely realised at once in Lancashire and Yorkshire. First, a large and important body of opinion held that the voluntary efforts of the past forty years had been so considerable that there was not in reality the fearful dearth of education represented by Ashley and Graham. Second, the whole body of Nonconformist opinion was uncompromisingly against the control by the Established Church of the education of the poor. Third, the manufacturing districts resented Lord Ashley's interference and flung his epithets back on the rural counties, and in particular on Dorset, his constituency. A fourth party also existed, as we have seen, since 1837, but scarcely made its voice heard as yet: those who looked for a really national plan of education, divorced from the Poor Law, and from denominational control, and applicable to the whole country, urban and rural populations alike. Thus, for a variety of reasons, the proposals of the Government were intensely unpopular, and 13,369 petitions were presented against the Bill. On 1st May it reappeared with concessions to Nonconformists (notably the right of entry where desired of ministers of all denominations), but feeling was still so strong that 11,839 petitions were presented against the Amended Bill.[1]

The leading spirit in the Opposition was Edward Baines. junior, son of the editor and proprietor of *The Leeds Mercury*, He collected statistics with considerable promptitude and thoroughness, and wrote two open letters to Mr Robert Peel, entitled *The Social, Educational, and Religious State of the Manufacturing Districts*. His avowed object was "to vindicate the manufacturing districts from the aspersions cast on them"; and he thought the chief value of his work was "as a demonstration of the power of Voluntary Christian Zeal to provide the means of education and religious instruction."

Baines' inquiry embraced a population of 2,208,771 in the counties of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cheshire and Derbyshire. Taking first the seating accommodation provided by churches and chapels, he found that while in the metropolis there was accommodation for only 36 per cent. of the population, in Westminster for only 30 per cent., in the four above-mentioned counties the average was 45 per cent. Taking next the

[1] The educational clauses as amended are given in *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*. Vol. ii., p. 471 and foll.

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improvement in church accommodation he was able to show an average increase from 1801–1841 of 219 per cent., during which time the population had increased no more than 127 per cent.: only one-ninth of the increased accommodation was due to grants from the State in aid of building. The third group of statistics dealt with Sunday schools. Here Baines showed that while Westminster recorded an attendance of only $\frac{1}{34}$ and all London $\frac{1}{20}$ of the total population, the average for the manufacturing districts was $\frac{1}{5\frac{1}{2}}$.

So far it was purely a question of statistics: but Baines then went on to inquire: "Are the schools efficient, especially in respect of religious instruction and teaching to read?" He considered they were, despite the adverse report of the Children's Employment Commission; but he was only able to assert that more than 55 per cent. of the scholars could read the Scriptures and that in many cases libraries, sick societies and other associations existed in connection with schools. In regard to day schools, Baines admitted some deficiency, $\frac{1}{9}$ being the possible proportion and $\frac{1}{10\frac{1}{2}}$ the actual proportion at the school. He looked upon the calculation that $\frac{1}{4}$ of the total population should be at school as going upon "the gross fallacy that all the children between five and fifteen years of age could be or ought to be receiving instruction at the same time, that is that every child in the country was at school for 10 years—viz. from five to fifteen." [1]

In his second letter, Baines set out to combat "opinions reaching their climax in *The Standard*," that "England would be as great and powerful, and all useful Englishmen would be as rich as they are, though one ruin should engulf all the manufacturing towns and districts of Great Britain." He showed that wages in manufacturing districts were good, and superior to those in rural districts, and quoted the opinion of a factory inspector, Leonard Horner: "No collection of the working classes, in other occupations in this country, can possibly exhibit a larger proportion of well-fed, well-clothed, healthy and cheerful-looking people." Everything seems to point to the fact that this was in general true: and it was admitted in Parliament that the reason for singling out factories was not that the conditions were worse there than elsewhere, but that they could be more easily regulated.

But Baines not only held that the manufacturing districts had been unjustly attacked: he really believed that the

[1] In 1845 in the parish of Chorlton-cum-Hardy 156 children were under daily instruction out of an agricultural population of 630; that is almost exactly one quarter. *Manchester Church Educational Society Report.* 1845.

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education of children would be endangered rather than improved by the clauses in the Factory Bill. He urged that

> "The restrictions contemplated by Sir James Graham's Bill would give the mill-owners yet stronger motives for dispensing with the employment of children. But if it have that effect, it must of course reduce the means which the fathers of families have for feeding and clothing their children, and must, moreover, exclude the children from the possibility of obtaining even as much education as they now receive. It is therefore quite possible for humanity to overshoot the mark."

Seventy years later it is easy to see that Baines and the many others who shared his views were wrong: but the tentative Acts already passed had not been convincingly beneficial in their effects, and it was certainly true that the more onerous became the responsibilities for the education of children placed on employers the less likelihood was there of juvenile employment at all. The children would in that case simply swell the number of those already spending their time playing in the streets of the town.

Not appreciating the economic position in its true light, nor believing in State aid or control of education[1] he found the cause for the "attack on the manufacturing districts" in their religious dissent. "Hence," said he, "the necessity of passing an Act to put down the Sunday schools in factory districts, to bring the education of all the children under the direction and control of the clergy, and to make all ratepayers tributary to the Church school."

About the same time, Canon Stowell also wrote an open letter to Sir Robert Peel, taking up altogether different ground from Baines. He began by lamenting the present state of the manufacturing districts, and by proclaiming that "Sunday schools, however general and however good, cannot be said to educate." He urged that factory schools had proved largely abortive, and that the right line of legislation would be that no one should be allowed to employ any servant or apprentice who could not produce a certificate of at least four years' attendance at a satisfactory school.[2] Then he laid down the principle that "unsanctified instruction could do little for fallen man" and that "the Established Church ought to enjoy a monopoly of education and the State should render her boon to the community only through her hands."

But that it was not necessary either to leave all to voluntary

[1] "The emulation of religious bodies and the competition of private schoolmasters afforded the best guarantee of improvement (in the apparatus of education)." *Life of Edward Baines.* By his son, Edward Baines, jun. 1851. P. 331.

[2] This idea, we have already seen, was cherished by Adam Smith and Robert Owen; it was, however, repudiated as almost valueless by the Education Conference at Manchester in January, 1868. (See Prof. Jack's account of certificates granted as soon as a boy could write p-o-t "pot.")

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effort, or to make the Established Church the sole means of national education, and that other and wider views were held in the manufacturing districts is shown by yet another letter, this time addressed to Sir James Graham himself, by a magistrate of Lancashire.[1] This document is especially notable because the writer foresaw the lines on which the problem was actually dealt with.

He thought the Factory Bill was confessedly a complicated, partial and oppressive piece of legislation, and found no favour with masters or workers, and suggested instead :

1. That no child under ten years of age, and no child unable to read, should be employed in any cotton, silk, flax or woollen factory.
2. That no women, and no young persons under eighteen years of age, should be employed in any such factories more than twelve hours a day—six to six—including one and a half hours for meals.

This magistrate believed that unless these principles were given the force of Law ignorance and infidelity would increase, for a large amount of non-attendance was due to "neglectful parents rather than lack of schools, though they were admittedly insufficient." In a later paragraph the writer recognised what the first Sir Robert Peel had not seen, and Sir James Graham did not act upon if he realised—namely, that the old apprenticeship system could never be made to meet the factory system. He wrote :

> "It is absurd that any law can oblige the employer to provide efficient instruction for the children he employs. Why should the master of a factory be required to do that which is not obligatory on other masters ? It is an unnatural law, imposing upon the employer the obligation which ought to rest upon the parent."

Besides, he saw that the unpopular system of relays was "rapidly displacing children under thirteen years of age from the factories, leaving them, it is to be feared, alike destitute of education and employment." What the writer failed to do, as everyone else failed, was to propound any scheme that would satisfy both the parties headed respectively by Stowell and Baines.

On the motion for the House of Commons to go into Committee on the Bill,[2] Sir James Graham said that the petitions presented against the educational clauses had been "numerous

[1] A letter to the Right Honourable Sir James Graham, Bart., M.P., Secretary of State for the Home Department, on the bearing of the proposed Amended Factory Bill on Education in the Manufacturing Districts, by a Magistrate of Lancashire. 24th February 1844.

[2] Hansard, 3rd series, vol. lxviii., p. 1104 *et seq.*, and *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*, vol. ii., p. 471 and foll.

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almost without a parallel," and he admitted "a very unanimous feeling against them" "amongst the great dissenting bodies of this country." But he believed that if this modified Bill, which he designated his "olive-branch" should fail "to effect the great object of a combined system of education" all further efforts would be useless, and nothing could be expected but "a system of education conducted on adverse principles and in an antagonistic spirit." The power that even the modified Bill would confer on the Church of England was, however, very obvious. Lord John Russell spoke of the great work done in the manufacturing districts for thirty or forty years past under great difficulties, and under the obloquy of a section of the Church, and thought their "apprehension, alarm and indignation" natural and justifiable. William Ewart strenuously opposed the Bill as averse to religious freedom. Dr Bowring, member for Bolton, spoke of those who thought it was "the duty of members of the Church of England to Church-of-Englandize the whole nation." Thomas Milner-Gibson, of whom a great deal will be heard in succeeding chapters, then propounded the "secular solution":

> "I hear it said on all hands, 'It is unfortunate that Parliament will meddle with religion.' Let Parliament provide secular education, and leave it to the Church to provide for the religious instruction of those of its own flock, leaving it to Dissenters to do the same for the children of their several communions."

The opposition of Nonconformists triumphed, and Sir James Graham withdrew his Bill. The Government were probably glad to escape from the impossible schemes and ideals of such men as Stowell under cover of the mistaken optimism, if not the political principles, of Baines.

For a while the voluntary party thought they could really cope with the great task. Writing in 1851, Baines said:

> "In the latter part of the same year (1843) the Church, the Wesleyans, and Congregationalists respectively made efforts on behalf of education so great and so important as to prove that there is no educational want that may not be supplied by the voluntary efforts of the people themselves." [1]

So it no doubt appeared to Baines and his friends at the time; but the passage of years showed that an abnormal effort had been made in the face of a grave danger, and that it could not be maintained.

The leaders of the Established Church in Manchester, as we have seen, were fully conscious of the educational needs of their city, and in 1844 a new organisation was formed under the title of the "Manchester Church Education Society." [2] The

[1] Edward Baines, jun. *Life of Edward Baines*. P. 314.
[2] *First Report of the Manchester Church Education Society*. 1845.

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chairman was the Hon. and Very Rev. W. Herbert, Dean of Manchester, with the Rev. Charles Richson as secretary, and the Rev. Hugh Stowell on the committee. The object of the Society was

> "to employ a competent resident inspector or inspectors, to be approved by the Bishop, for all the schools in the parish that will submit (as it was hoped all would do) to his visits; to assist in providing, organising, and if necessary supporting, schools in the parish in the best and most economical manner, directing its view to the importance of providing the means of instruction for 300 boys, girls and infants out of every 3000 of the population: to assist if it shall be found necessary in defraying the expense of well-qualified teachers (under engagement for a term of years) either at a training school or by its own inspector; to put the two National Schools upon an effectual and satisfactory footing by alterations and improvements . . . and generally to stimulate but not to supersede local exertions by giving assistance, when thoroughly satisfied that the result cannot be attained without its help."

A good deal of this programme seems to have been carried out in the first year, many schools receiving assistance in raising teachers' salaries; arrangements were made for cheap evening classes at the National schools, and also for a library and reading-room at each. The inspector visited between seventy and eighty schools (none refused his visits) and reported "the deficiency of education in many parts of Manchester lamentably great," and "the number of children brought under the influence of the Church much below what it ought to be." Wishing to establish them as Model schools, the committee took over the management of the two National schools, and found a heavy outlay necessary, towards which a grant of £400 was obtained from the Committee of Privy Council on Education, and an equal amount from the National Society. They made a recommendation to establish "four Commercial Middle Schools" "for one portion of the population—namely, the middle class, for which scarcely any public education is provided in the parish." The committee also established an association for teachers in Church schools, for purposes of mutual instruction in subjects, and in the practice of popular education.

The Church Education Society manifestly took a wide view of its duties, and energetically endeavoured to carry them out. To a large extent it was able to do so, as may be seen from the later reports and from the evidence submitted by Rev. Charles Richson to the Select Committee in 1852[1]: but that it was unable effectively to reduce the educational destitution of Manchester will also be apparent from later chapters. No corresponding local organisation, with unity of purpose and executive power, existed outside the Church, and the guess may be reasonably hazarded that other denominational schools

[1] See Chapter VII., pp. 85-86, and Appendix X.

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were not more adequate, for Lord John Russell's words of 1843 that "the Church Party is in some of the manufacturing districts an almost insignificant minority" did not apply to Manchester.[1]

When the "Minutes of 1846" (for the first time establishing maintenance grants) were issued, the Wesleyan and other Nonconformist bodies in Manchester, as elsewhere, objected to them; but after being satisfied that inspection would be carried out by men of whom they approved, the Wesleyans withdrew their objections. From this time they accepted the same position as the Established Church in respect of their denominational schools; the Congregationalists and other Nonconformists were, however, for the most part strict "voluntaries."[2]

The attitude of Manchester in the following years is of more significance than the immediate steps taken in regard to these "minutes," and may be studied in detail in connection with the educational associations soon afterwards formed.

[1] See figures already given, Chapter III. pp. 36-41, and the following chapters and Appendix V., for proof of its influence.

[2] "Recollect, when the whole of the Nonconformists are charged with clamour, what they mean by being Nonconformists. They object, as I understand—at least, I object—to the principle by which the Government seizes hold of public funds to give salaries and support to the teachers of all sects of religions, or of one sect of religion, for I think the one plan nearly as unjust as the other. Either the Nonconformists hold this opinion or they are making a sham. They object to any portion of the public money going to teachers of religion belonging either to the Established Church or to Dissenting bodies; they object to receive it for themselves." Hansard. 3rd series. Vol. xci., p. 1094.

These words were used by John Bright, speaking in the House in 1847, on an education debate on the Minute of Council introduced by Lord Russell's Government, and in reply to a speech of Lord Macaulay, who had characterised the expressed opinions of the Nonconformists as "the clamour out of doors."

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CHAPTER VI

THE LANCASHIRE PUBLIC SCHOOL ASSOCIATION AND ITS SUCCESSOR, THE NATIONAL PUBLIC SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

"The Lancashire Public School Association was not only the precursor, but, I believe, the cause to a larger extent than can be said of any other Association in this country, of the beneficent education system which we now enjoy."

JACOB BRIGHT, M.P., 18th Dec. 1876, at Manchester on the occasion of the Jubilee Presentation to Rev. WM. M'KERROW.

"I hold that a philosopher is better than a fool; and I hold that where an educated man is ignorant of religion altogether, he is less likely to become a vicious man and a disturber of the public peace, than one who has been trained up in ignorance and vice."

REV. WM. M'KERROW. Speech in Town Hall, Manchester, 1st April 1850.

"Man is not only an immortal, but *man is a corrupt, depraved and fallen being*. Therefore merely to cultivate man as he is, is to cultivate man into more luxurious iniquity. . . . I should be disposed almost to adopt the sentiment that some have done (though, perhaps like other antithetical sayings, it has more of point than it has absolutely of entire truth), 'Either christianise education, or crush it.' I believe it were better almost for man that it were crushed, than that it were given unless it was christianised."

REV. HUGH STOWELL, 19th June 1839.

IN the summer of 1847 a new grouping of educational enthusiasts came about in Manchester, with a definite and detailed plan for the universal supply of free education. In five years it did work of incalculable value, and though only one school ever came into existence directly through its efforts, opinion throughout England was focused as never before. It is not too much to say that almost every argument and proposal to be found in the Parliamentary debates of 1870, 1902 and 1906 may be found in the annals of the L.P.S.A. and the N.P.S.A. between 1848 and 1851. In 1851 a new organisation of old opposing forces came into play and made early legislation impossible; but these very forces also helped the N.P.S.A. to advance by compromise to proposals which were in essentials, though not in details, the same as those of the Elementary Education Act of 1870.

The origin of the Lancashire Public School Association cannot be ascertained more exactly than as follows[1]:—"An accidental conversation having been held by a few gentlemen interested in the education of the people, they resolved to meet

[1] M'Kerrow, James Muir. *Life of Rev. William M'Kerrow*. P. 289.

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again for further consideration of the subject. Six persons assembled for this purpose in the vestry of Lloyd Street Chapel.[1] These were Messrs Jacob Bright,[2] Samuel Lucas,[3] W. B. Hodgson,[4] Alexander Ireland,[5] Thomas Ballantyne,[6] and the Rev. William M'Kerrow.[7] Mr Lucas being called to the Chair, produced an outline of the plan of local education which ultimately appeared under the title of the Lancashire Public School Association, and introduced it to the meeting for discussion." [8]

This meeting was held in July, 1847; on 21st July *The Manchester Guardian* referred to the "Plan"; but it was not until 25th August that at a meeting of seventeen gentlemen in the Mechanics Institute, Cooper Street, the plan was developed, and the "Lancashire Public School Association" inaugurated, for "promoting the establishment of a general system of secular education in the County of Lancaster." A provisional committee of thirty was then nominated, and it is curious to note that only one man, Absalom Watkin, had been on the committee of the Manchester branch of the "National Education Society" of 1841, though the Rev. Wm. M'Kerrow had been a notable supporter of it. Pamphlets were prepared, and 10,000 were distributed at once, containing the principles of the Association and its plan.[9] The latter was adopted with a view to its introduction to the House of Commons in the shape of a Bill, and it was resolved to direct the efforts of the Association to procure an expression of public opinion in the county in its favour.

The basal principle of the Association was that every boy

[1] It is astonishing to find that six out of the seven original members of the Anti-Corn Law League were at the time members of this Presbyterian Church.

[2] Younger brother of John Bright.

[3] Married Margaret Bright, and so was brother-in-law of John and Jacob Bright. Editor of *Morning Star*, 1856, to death in 1865. Trevelyan, G. M. *Life of John Bright*.

[4] *B.* at Edinburgh, and Secretary of Liverpool Mechanics Institute, 1839. Headmaster of Chorlton High School, Manchester, 1847-1851. See *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

[5] *B.* at Edinburgh, 1810. Came to Manchester, 1843. One of the proprietors of *The Manchester Examiner and Times*, a great friend of Hodgson.

[6] An original proprietor of *The Manchester Examiner*.

[7] *B.* at Kilmarnock, 1803. Minister at Lloyd Street Church (Presbyterian) from 1827. One of the original proprietors of *The Manchester Examiner*.

[8] At a dinner in his honour at Manchester, 30th October 1850, Mr Lucas gave the chief credit to Mr William M'Call, who is not mentioned by M'Kerrow, and who, though on the published committee from the first, was never prominent. At the National Conference on the same day Mr Absalom Watkin called Mr Lucas himself "the parent of the Association," and he seems to have been generally regarded as such. The chief interest in the matter lies in the extent to which Scotsmen were at the bottom of the movement. Lucas also included Wm. M'Coll (*sic.*), John Heugh, and Neil Bannatyre amongst those present at the first meeting.

[9] See Appendix VII.

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and girl ought to receive a good elementary education (and that at present there were vast numbers who did not receive any of value). Next, that if the Government assumed the duty of educating the people, their minds might be pressed down into bondage rather than elevated to freedom; while the present voluntary system meant the utter exclusion from all instruction of those unconnected with any religious denomination. Further, the Government plan of granting financial aid in proportion to voluntary contributions was unsatisfactory, since poor districts, though needing most, received least. Hence the new principle was proposed, that a large local area should be given power to tax itself for educational purposes and control the expenditure. In order that none might be debarred from entry to the schools, all catechisms and creeds were to be strictly excluded, but religious teaching was to be given based on selections from the Scriptures. Last, a County Board of Education was to be elected, which should exercise a unifying control over day schools, evening schools, and industrial schools, act as an information bureau, and conduct its own Normal school for teachers.

There are many features of interest in the plan, and the men who prepared it were well acquainted with existing educational systems both in Great Britain and Ireland, on the Continent and in the United States, and borrowed frankly from many sources; yet the result was essentially as new as it was unified.

As W. E. Forster insisted twenty years later, the first essential was to determine the local areas; and probably at the time[1] there could be no better arrangement than the ancient divisions of parish or township, hundred, and county; it had the additional merit of allowing the scheme to be readily extended over the whole country should it work satisfactorily in Lancashire. The introduction of a special rate for education as such was not likely to meet with serious opposition seeing it was to be spent by specially elected representatives. As it was hoped to make the schools so good as to attract all classes, there could be no objection to education being "free."

But the religious difficulty was not so easily disposed of as the promoters hoped; and for two reasons. In the first place, the adoption of the Irish system of extracts from the Bible, and not the whole Bible forming the basis of religious teaching,

[1] The inadequacy of the machinery of Local Government before the Local Government Acts of 1888 (which established County Councils) and of 1894 (which created Parish Councils and Rural District Councils) was a constant hindrance to social reformers; the difficulty was usually met by the creation of *ad hoc* bodies, as in the case of School Boards, 1870-1902.

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as in Lancasterian schools, without reference to the peculiar theological tenets of any religious sect or denomination[1] was at once denounced as "godless," and therefore an abomination.

A second serious argument against the plan was the probable fate of all the schools already existing in connection with some religious body: nothing at all was said in the plan of the Association. It will now be well to trace the growth of the Association in some detail, and to show how its strength and also its weakness became manifest.

. . . . . .

The first business of the Association was to make its plan known as widely as possible, to gather support and to rouse enthusiasm. Men representing all parts of Lancashire, and as far as possible all denominations and political parties, were brought on to the Committee—their very variety gave an opportunity for the enemy to blaspheme; pamphlets were distributed in great numbers, and favourable notices appeared in many newspapers, including one so distant as *The Aberdeen Herald*. As early as 22nd September the Executive Committee resolved to meet every day at 10 A.M. and every Monday at 6.30 P.M.; and the numerous Minute Books show a remarkable amount of work to have been done only explicable by a very great enthusiasm. On 30th September Mr Hole, of Leeds, was encouraged to go forward with his proposal to establish an association to promote the plan in Yorkshire; soon afterwards special circulars were sent to the members of the late Manchester Society for the Promotion of National Education. On 19th October Richard Cobden wrote approving the Association; in December a form of petition to Parliament was agreed upon. Early in 1848 (January) the Association was put on a permanent footing, with Alexander Henry, M.P., as president, and among the vice-presidents were Richard Cobden, M.P., Joseph Hume, M.P., and Douglas Jerrold. The secretary was now F. Espinasse (author of *Lancashire Worthies*), with Edwin Waugh as assistant.[2]

[1] The Irish National Board of Education had already arranged a volume of selections satisfactorily from the point of view of the L.P.S.A. See Preface, (p. viii.), by Samuel Lucas, to *National Education*.

[2] The latter has left on record many interesting notes on his experiences gained while daily canvassing for support and signatures; the following show his impressions written down at the time:—

Thursday, April 27th, 1848. Canvassed for signatures in Oldham St. Only three persons in whole street objected and the greater number knew something of it beforehand. The three who objected to signing it did so because they wished to give the subject fair consideration.

I took my receipt book and cards of membership and asked for subscriptions. It would not do. . . . I could see that it was more from inability than from indisposition to subscribe, and everything that I see convinces me more

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Throughout 1848 the work of the Association steadily progressed; excellent fortnightly addresses were delivered at the Mechanics Institute and elsewhere, and statistics were being compiled. A deputation waited on the Bishop of Manchester (James Prince Lee) in the hope of gaining his support: he agreed that a large extension of education was necessary, condemned the existing provision as based on erroneous principles, and favoured local rates and local management, but he would not consent to the exclusion of religious doctrines. At the first annual meeting on 17th January 1849, a letter of regret for his absence was read from W. E. Forster, showing thus early the nature of his sympathies with the cause of National Education. Two months later the Association felt itself strong enough to demand a town's meeting which the Mayor granted in response to a petition signed by two hundred influential citizens. It turned out to be one of the most extraordinary meetings ever held in Manchester, and possibly the most remarkable educational gathering anywhere on record. It actually began on Thursday, 28th March 1849, at 11 A.M., and the vote was not taken till 4 P.M. The association was represented by able speakers, but Canon Stowell and the Rev. Geo. Osborn, a Wesleyan minister, moved an amendment to their petition, praying Parliament "not to sanction any system of general education of which the Christian religion is not the basis." Almost the whole of the controversy turned on the religious question, on which Canon Stowell's views have already been given (they do not appear ever to have under-

and more that this plan will be very heartily welcomed by the middle and working classes. I have found it so in counting houses and in warehouses, in front shops, especially in workshops, and even in the inhuman cellar dwellings of the very poor. Everywhere I have found it received by the great majority with pleasure and friendliness, and chiefly on the score of its unsectarian and secular character, and on account of the popular nature of the management proposed. The most frequent objection, however, is on the ground of taxation, and this objection springs almost universally among those *occupiers* of property who have so much occasion to complain of the unequal pressure of taxation. They admire the plan. But I have often been amused as I have watched them reading the petition, and prepared myself to meet the coming storm, they read the first clause. "That's good!" They quite agree with that. They read the second slowly—and "that's good" also. They then take the pen which I offer to them at this stage of the proceedings and begin to read the third clause, and at the words "local rates," down goes the pen and a furious dispute is taken up. "More rates!" "Do you think there isn't rates enow?" Then follows a volley of red-hot invective against government, unjust laws, and unequal taxation. . . .

But I have been most astonished at the almost universally liberal and onward tendency of men's minds, and the independent and intelligent appreciation of the real benefit that a sound system of national education would produce upon the whole people.

Usually Waugh notes pleasing successes, but of Spring Gardens and part of Market Street he notes: "Got 28 signatures in the Counting houses. More obstinate objectors in this neighbourhood than I commonly meet with."

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gone material alteration), and will be referred to again in greater detail; Mr Osborn disagreed on one important point: he thought that he could give as good an education in the school connected with his congregation for twopence or fourpence a week as could be given in any school supported by local rates. He did not see "why private charity could not be indefinitely extended to meet the necessities of the people." In other words, he was a "voluntary," and far behind Canon Stowell in his appreciation of educational need. The most notable and able speech of the day was probably that of the Rev. Wm. M'Kerrow, from which the following extracts are taken [1]:—

> "As a conscientious Dissenter I cannot take the public money to support my particular religious opinions. . . .
> "What is Christianity? Every man must judge for himself. We must not introduce the religious element therefore, into our system of national education. They had been asked what they would teach. They would teach truthfulness, honesty, sobriety, and brotherly kindness.
> "MR OSBORN. On what grounds?
> "MR M'KERROW. Those principles upon which everyone was agreed, and upon which the existence of society was based.
> "I think you disparage the zeal and energy of Christianity who say that if it were not introduced into the schools Christianity must fade from the land. Is there to be no time for communicating religious instruction except the two or three hours in the public school? Are all Christian parents to become indifferent to the religious training of their own children? People do not send their children to school to receive religious teaching." [2]

When at last the tired audience was called upon to vote, the Mayor found it impossible to tell which side had the majority; he accordingly divided the meeting on opposite sides of the hall. Even then he asked to be allowed to refrain from expressing an opinion, but in deference to the wishes of both parties he gave his ruling—that the amendment was carried by a slight majority.

[1] *Life, op. cit.*, p. 160 *et seq.*

[2] The following further quotations show yet more fully the logical "secular" position:

"Our (*i.e.* secularists') consciences are aggrieved because injustice is done to us, and principles are forced upon us at the public expense; but I cannot understand why the consciences of other gentlemen should be aggrieved because we will not permit them, if we can help it, to treat us in this manner."

"It has been intimated that without religion as a part of education society may be made brutes and fiends. Why is it to be supposed that secular education degrades and demoralises a man? Is he likely to be a worse man for being taught to read? Will any man be a better member of society because he is kept in ignorance? . . . Education opens up new sources of enjoyment, moral and intellectual, and prepares men for the reception of religious truth."

"I consider that voluntaryism in religion is proper, every man ought to support his own religion, but with respect to education no right of conscience interferes and no dogmatical principles of theology need to be introduced. I would, therefore, place secular education on exactly the same footing as I would any scheme of sanitary improvement or anything connected with the temporal well-being of our fellow-creatures."

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The Association was nominally defeated; but in reality this meeting marks the beginning of rapid progress. "From that day," says the Committee's Report to the next annual meeting, "commences the adhesion of many influential members of the Wesleyan body, and the closer attachment to the Association of many members of the Established Church." Most striking of all was the action of Canon Stowell, who, on 17th May 1849, gave an important lecture in the Free Trade Hall in which he showed and admitted a very large measure of agreement with the "secular" party. He rather favoured local machinery for education as against national, and refused to commit himself on the expediency of county rates; he was at one with them in holding that voluntary effort would never support an adequate education for a great country like England; he agreed on the immense amount of deplorable ignorance; he would have every Briton educated—it was his birthright. But he claimed that "two-thirds of the population, urban and agricultural, belonged to the Church of England, and did not object to its teaching; the remaining one-third nearly all professed some religion. Then was a national scheme of education to be concocted for the few who would have nothing to do with religion, or for the mighty many who would have nothing to do with education without religion?" And he naturally asked: "Was a secular system of education to become the national system of education, and was a Christian education such as they had possessed, and such as they ought to possess, and by the help of God would retain, to be set aside for such teaching? Were they to have a plan of education where the entire Bible was to stand out as the one standard of faith and wisdom, or were they to have that blessed book excluded by law from the national schools of this Christian land?" [1] Canon Stowell did not believe the L.P.S.A. could convert the whole community to their views; but supposing they did, "he was sure that, in spite of all protestations to the contrary, Government would be forced to withdraw support from existing voluntary schools." Ultimately, he may prove to be right; but seventy years have passed and his next sentence is still not true: "There was no alternative: (the Government) must either maintain schools where the word of God formed the basis and element of education, or schools whence the word of God was systematically excluded."

Thus far the education enthusiast and social reformer; but before all else Canon Stowell was inspired by a profound belief in and love for the Church to which he belonged, and the Bible which gave it sanction. In the rest of the speech it is the church-

[1] See W. E. Forster (in particular) later (Chapter IX.). The same remark appears in various forms repeatedly in the mouths of many speakers.

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man who speaks. First he objected to selections from the Bible.[1] Next he demanded: "What guarantee would they have for the morality of masters if they did not know their principles? And if they (the masters) were honest and sincere men, would they not insinuate their sentiments and opinions into the minds of children at school?" That there is much truth in this statement few have ever cared to deny. More important still was his handling of the secularist plea—viz. "We only leave out theological dogmas, we retain religion." He held that neither the Church of England nor any dissenting body would concur in leaving out theology, and after suggesting various dogmas that would have to be omitted, he said: "If these were left out, then in his judgment would be left out the truth —the saving, sanctifying, life-giving truth."

These lengthy quotations are given from the two protagonists in this great struggle because on this religious question they expressed, as well as anyone has ever expressed it, all there is to be said on each side. It is extraordinary that such an able and intellectually clear man as Hugh Stowell should have had nothing more useful finally to suggest than the following:— "If the promoters of the secular scheme are really honest and earnest in their wish to unsectarianise the country, and the education of the country, I will put them upon a much shorter, surer and better way of accomplishing it. Let them unsectarianise themselves, and come back to the good old mother Church of England."

The peroration evoked continued cheers. But in it lies the whole secret of the tragedy of English education for the past two hundred and fifty years.[2] Once that attitude of the Church had been natural; but officially and practically it had been given up at the accession of William III., though the Act of Uniformity was still unrepealed. There is something pathetic in the faith of Canon Stowell that, despite all the acknowledged failure of the past, somehow the Church could still perform its bounden duty of educating the whole population; and something more than pathetic in his reiterated statement that no school education at all was preferable to that from which the whole Bible was excluded, and only extracts permitted. But he was not alone; and in due course his party made such a splendid losing fight that they postponed and profoundly modified their opponents' victory.

Throughout the rest of the year 1849 the L.P.S.A. made

[1] "Was the Bible sectarian? To say so was to say the Bible was not the word of God. . . . They must take the Bible as it was, or not take it at all. For *all* Scripture is given by inspiration of God. The Bible was God's word from first to last or it was not God's word at all."

[2] Especially since the Act of Uniformity (1662). See Chapter I., p. 6, and De Montmorency's *State Intervention in English Education*, p. 108 *et seq.*

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steady headway, and besides the usual monthly lectures and soirées in Manchester, a Conference was arranged for 12th December by a public meeting in the Free Trade Hall of "friends to a system of National Education, with a view to a National Movement, with its headquarters in Manchester." Nearly two hundred representatives came from all parts of the country, including many members of Parliament, notably Milner-Gibson and W. J. Fox, and W. E. Forster, not yet in Parliament, but already known as an ardent reformer, and especially for the interest he took in the welfare of his employees. Richard Cobden and Wm. Ewart were prevented by illness from attending, but they, together with Thomas Carlyle and many others, sent letters of approval. At the public meeting speeches were made by Milner-Gibson and Fox—both famous orators of the Anti-Corn Law League—Simpson, of Edinburgh,[1] Thomas Bazley, Dr John Watts and J. Stores-Smith.

It is clear from the minutes that at this time the moving spirit of the Executive Committee was John Watts, Ph.D., the importance of whose work is henceforth second to none. One of twelve sons of a Coventry ribbon weaver, and educated at a Charity school, he had been a schoolmaster, but became an insurance agent, and was a professed agnostic, and, in his own words, the only member of the Association that in past times had any connection with Socialism[2]: along with M'Kerrow he was generally regarded as the leader of the Secular Party in Manchester. But Samuel Lucas, the chairman of the Executive Committee, had done a vast amount of valuable work, and his removal to London at this time was a great loss.

Early in 1850 (26th February) W. J. Fox, M.P. for Oldham, and one of the earliest vice-presidents of the L.P.S.A., introduced a Bill into the House of Commons,[3] in some respects similar to the proposals of the Association. At two committee meetings the question of supporting this Bill was discussed. The general impression was that Fox's scheme was right so far as it went, but was inadequate, and gave undue power to the

[1] Simpson visited Cobden in 1836 and spoke at the meeting at the Theatre Royal, 1837. See Chapter IV., p. 49.

[2] Speech (April, 1850) in reply to an anonymous pamphlet saying that the L.P.S.A. included "the dregs of Socialism." Watts had come to Manchester in 1840 as a paid lecturer on Communism. *Manchester Guardian*, 8th February 1887.

[3] "Mr Fox received valuable assistance from Mr Milner-Gibson, Mr Muntz, Mr Anstey, and other members. The influence of the Church party, however, was supreme, and this, combined with the opposition of the Government, sufficed, after several nights' discussion, to reject the Bill, on the second reading, by a large majority." Francis Adams. *The Elementary Education Contest*. Pp. 153-155. Fox referred to L.P.S.A. in Parliament. Hansard. 3rd series. cix., p. 30.

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Committee of Privy Council. Finally it was agreed "that any members might individually support the Bill, but that as a body the Association must adhere to its own plan, and it could not agitate or petition for less."

In January, 1850, it had been decided to ask the Mayor to call another town's meeting, which was fixed for Easter Monday, 1st April,[1] preceded on 28th March by a very successful meeting in the Free Trade Hall, at which a petition to both Houses of Parliament was almost unanimously approved. This embodied the principles and proposals of the Association, and a deputation was appointed to present it at the town's meeting.[2]

After the petition had been moved, Canon Stowell moved

[1] Canon Stowell, on 19th March, insinuated that it was intended by the L.P.S.A. "to pack the meeting or unfairly preoccupy the room." This was denied on public placards; but on 27th March the Organising Committee resolved "That the gentlemen now present pledge themselves to use every exertion in their power to induce a numerous attendance of friends of the Association at the Public Meeting at the Town Hall, not later than eight o'clock, on Monday morning, 1st April 1850."

[2] The petition actually moved on behalf of the Association was as follows:—

"*To the Honourable the* COMMONS OF GREAT BRITAIN

"Humbly sheweth—

"That the large amount of intemperance, vice and crime which exists in England and Wales is, to a great extent, owing to prevalent ignorance, and to the main cause of that ignorance—viz. an insufficient and defective provision for proper education.

"That as her Majesty's subjects have long enjoyed the benefits of a large share of self-government, their rights and their habits alike require that parents should have a direct influence in the origination, the maintenance and the direction of public schools.

"That, inasmuch as various forms of opinion in regard to religion prevail in the country, and large numbers of persons stand aloof from existing religious communities, freedom from sectarian and denominational peculiarities ought to characterise any new educational enactments.

"Your petitioners, in view of these facts, and convictions, earnestly entreat your Honourable House to establish by law a system of education which, excluding all theological doctrines and sectarian influences, supported by local rates assessed on the basis of the Poor's Rate, and managed by local authorities specially elected for that purpose by the ratepayers, may afford to all, especially to the untaught and neglected, opportunities, free of charge, for a thorough training in useful knowledge, good principles and virtuous habits.

"And your Petitioners will ever pray."

The following amendment was moved by Rev. Hugh Stowell:—

"That your Petitioners are deeply persuaded, in order that Education may be of much value to the country it must be Christian Education. That it is the duty of the State to provide such Education, and no other, for the children of the poor, in this Christian land, and that we regard with strong disapproval the Bill now before Parliament for providing secular education for the people without at the same time saying it should be Christian in its character.

"Your Petitioners therefore pray your Honourable House to reject that Bill, and to sanction no measure for the furtherance of national education which does not make provision for the moral and religious as well as the intellectual culture of the children of the poorer classes."

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an amendment insisting that National Education must be "Christian in its character" and make provision for the moral and religious as well as the intellectual culture of the children of the poorer classes.

The Canon's speech was very long, and he suffered very considerable interruption: on the other hand, Mr M'Kerrow on rising to reply was cheered repeatedly. His cogent speech is a masterly statement of his own case, free from the "vague thought" and "loose declamation" with which he justly charged his opponents, but contains nothing different from the earlier occasion. Dr Watts also spoke, and said that the petition had already been adopted by ten to one in a meeting of several thousand persons who had assembled in front of the Town Hall, being unable to gain admittance. The Mayor having put the amendment and the motion to the vote, declared *"without hesitation that the amendment was lost."* This time the meeting was over at 4.30 P.M., having occupied five and a half hours, but hundreds must have been present from 8 A.M., which bespeaks no ordinary enthusiasm.

As the year went on a large mass of evidence was accumulated showing that in all parts of the country meetings had been held as a result of the December Conference, and opinion was favourable to the plan. In July another conference was resolved upon, a further extension and organisation of local branches of the Association was begun, and on 3rd September a general committee unanimously resolved "That in the opinion of this meeting it is expedient to make the L.P.S.A. a National Association and to prepare an Education Bill [1] for Parliament based on the principles of the Association."

Before the Conference met, an important modification appeared in the proposals of the Association relating to the religious question. A minute of a sub-committee (15th October) appointed to consider a letter from Mr Samuel Lucas (who had by this time removed to London) reported as follows:—

> "They are favourable to the adoption of the Scripture Extracts of the Irish National Schools as a general school book; they think that this would get rid of the difficulty of the Scripture question: all special reference to the Scripture might then be omitted from the plan."

It seems that along with their adoption of this part of the Irish scheme went a second alteration, though no mention of it occurs in the minutes or elsewhere at the time. A fortnight later, however, M'Kerrow announced that it was part of the Association's scheme to close the schools at special times to allow for the teaching of doctrinal religion.[2]

[1] The Bill was to be permissive. Minute, 3rd Sept. 1850.
[2] See pp. 80, 84 and 91, and Appendices VII., VIII. and IX.

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This appears to be a startling *volte-face* from the declaration of five months before, which ran :

> " The religious sects must be left to make such exertions as their benevolence may suggest, and their resources support. But in excluding the direct agency of the religious bodies in our system, we are very far from intending to disown the importance of religion in education. A thorough education, we know, involves a careful religious training. Such a training is, however, the work of the parent. Would that the fostering influence of a Christian home could be had for every child." [1]

On 30th October 1850, the National Conference met at Manchester under the chairmanship of Alexander Henry, M.P. It included many members of Parliament and representatives from every part of England ; and Thomas Carlyle, though not present, wrote : " From the origin of your Association I have on every possible opportunity expressed my hearty good-will to it : and I rejoice very much to witness the success it now seems rapidly attaining." The first resolution, proposed by Absalom Watkin, read :

> " That the Lancashire Public School Association be resolved into a society to be called the National Secular School Association for the establishment by law in England and Wales of a general system of secular instruction to be maintained by local rates and under the management of local authorities specially selected by the ratepayers." [2]

A lengthy discussion took place, and Cobden early intervened to object to the word " Secular " in the title, which, in his opinion, meant " not religious," whereas what they wanted to express was " non-sectarian." The chairman accepted the suggestion, but several delegates spoke against the alteration, notably Dr Hodgson and Dr Watts. Cobden spoke a second time, referring to Baines' followers (the " voluntaries ") as " a very powerful and formidable party." W. E. Forster then moved the substitution of the word " non-sectarian " for secular in the body of the resolution. Rev. Wm. M'Kerrow explained the use of the word " secular " by the L.P.S.A. to include " the extension of religion by setting the afternoon of one day a week apart in order that those ministers who felt interested in the religious instruction of the children might have an opportunity of teaching them, though, of course, they would not make the attendance of children compulsory," and went on to give the ordinary explanation as originally in the plan, and in his speeches. Cobden spoke a third time and urged that " the retention of the word ' secular ' anywhere in the resolution was opening to the enemy a chink

[1] Address of the L.P.S.A. to the people of England and Wales. Manchester. May, 1850.

[2] This was drawn up at a committee meeting on 22nd October.

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in their armour which they would some day have to rivet up with more difficulty and discussion."[1]

Forster later withdrew his amendment, but said he must reluctantly also withdraw his name from the committee. Ultimately the word "public" was used instead of either "secular" or "non-sectarian," and with this alteration the resolution forming the National Public School Association was carried unanimously, Forster being satisfied.[2]

This incident is dealt with at some length because it shows at an early date what became abundantly clear afterwards —viz. that the opposition was much more powerful, and also much more really sincere and religious than the enthusiasts for the L.P.S.A. scheme realised. They had indeed rallied to a definite plan a very large measure of support, they might quite likely be the progressive force representing a real advance in political and religious liberty; but Cobden and Forster (both members of the Established Church) knew that the matter in dispute was not one of facts and finance, like the Corn Laws, in which the new forces were bound to win if led with sufficient ability and persistence; but that this was a question of beliefs and prejudices, of things beyond argument. And both Forster and Cobden agreed in this too: ardent

[1] "You would be puzzled at my objecting to the word 'secular.' If I had seen before I spoke upon the subject that the word occurred again in the body of the resolution, I should not have taken the objection. For, after all, in the words of Shakespeare, 'What's in a name?' applies very much to this case. We all mean the same thing, to *teach the people something necessary for their well-being, which the ministers of religion do not teach them.*" Extract from letter to George Combe, 9th November 1850. Quoted by Morley, *Life of Cobden*, p. 548.

[2] The following extracts from T. Wemyss Reid's *Life of W. E. Forster* should be read in this connection:—

"In 1849 an Educational Society was formed in Leeds, which Forster joined —having been greatly interested in Educational problems ever since he reached Bradford" (vol. i., p. 43).

"At the beginning he was anxious to get over the religious difficulty by providing for the secular education only of the pupils in the National Schools. But by and by as at meeting after meeting of this undistinguished little association—which, though undistinguished, was destined to have no small influence over the final settlement of the education question—the various sides of the religious question were dealt with, Forster began to waver. It is said that he was finally brought round to a conviction that in Bible reading the true solution was to be found, by a remark made by Canon Jackson, that 'It appeared that the one book in the English language which was to be excluded by Act of Parliament from the schools was the Bible.' Be that as it may, from 1849 onwards Mr Forster never wavered in his belief that the teaching of religion, as set forth in the Bible, must form a part of any national system of education" (vol. i., pp. 438-439).

"In 1870, after the second reading of the Elementary Education Bill, Lord Shaftesbury went on behalf of the Ragged School Union to ask Forster if it was true that Bible-teaching was to be excluded from the New Schools. Lord Shaftesbury reported the answer he had received as follows:—'Lord Shaftesbury, I would rather have my right hand cut off than be the means of excluding the Bible from our day schools'" (vol. i., p. 491).

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Radicals as they both were, they both declared repeatedly that they cared less about principles than about getting some system of national education started.[1]

The public meeting held on the following day was the occasion for many speeches of a high quality, and amongst them all Cobden's stood out for earnestness, grasp of the subject and its difficulties, and for moving eloquence, and is especially notable for his insistence on the need for education in rural districts, from which the population of the towns was recruited.

The National Association thus formed under such favourable conditions maintained the old organisation and officers of the L.P.S.A., and Manchester remained its headquarters. Little change indeed took place except the necessary modification of the plan to meet the needs of England instead of Lancashire; and activities were now conducted on a larger scale.

From the date of the Conference onwards Cobden took a leading part in the work of the National Association and his presence was regarded as essential by the sub-committee appointed to draw up its "basis and rules," and a minute records that "he was specially thanked for the interest he had imparted to the discussion (on 21st November) and for the personal sacrifices he had made for the N.P.S.A." As a result of much discussion and many alternative attempts the following "basis" for the Association was adopted by the sub-committee and on 4th December by the General Committee :—

> "The National Public School Association is formed to promote the establishment by Law, in England and Wales, of a system of Free Schools, which, supported by local rates, and managed by local authorities specially elected for that purpose by the ratepayers, shall impart secular instruction only; leaving to parents, guardians and religious teachers the inculcation of doctrinal religion, to afford opportunities for which the schools shall be closed at stated times each week."[2]

Thus the change first mentioned publicly by M'Kerrow on 30th October in regard to religious instruction was incorporated in the basis of the Association. It has already been suggested that the idea was borrowed from the Irish scheme, but it had been elaborated in Sir James Graham's amended Bill in 1843,[3]

[1] See Kay-Shuttleworth's letter, quoted Chapter VII., p. 82.

[2] The wording here given is that finally used on 4th December, when the resolution was proposed by M'Kerrow and seconded by Cobden, and supported by Forster; there are slight verbal alterations from the form adopted by the sub-committee. For "Plan" as necessarily amended, see Appendix VIII.

[3] Clause 66 enacted that a child could be withdrawn from the doctrinal religious instruction—to be given before or after school (Clause 65)—if a parent desired; no compulsion might be used to secure attendance, nor might any person punish or molest such child for absence. Clause 67 allowed the licensed minister of the chapel in which such parent attends divine worship, or a person appointed by the minister, to instruct children three hours a week at some convenient place other than the school-house, at times to be arranged.

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and apparently the safeguards there offered were contemplated by the N.P.S.A.

It is significant that on 21st November "it was unanimously agreed by the sub-committee that the above form was regarded as excluding the use of the Bible as a school book."

Forster was apparently satisfied with the compromise which allowed doctrinal teaching outside the hours of secular instruction. But at the First Annual Meeting of the N.P.S.A., on 22nd January 1851, Cobden seems to have felt again the disadvantages of being open to the charge of "irreligion," for in the course of a lengthy and most eloquent speech [1] he said: "I call for the American system. I do not want to have my Bible read in the schools, because, if so, the children of 60,000 people must go uneducated. I am neither for the Bible as a school book nor for its exclusion as a school book. I am for the American system precisely as it stands." [2]

Cobden's speech was made in support of the optimistic resolution "that the present aspect of the Educational question gives high testimony to the efforts of this Association and promises a complete and speedy triumph." But, as a matter of fact, the greater part of his speech was devoted to the situation created by the preparation which was going forward of a rival scheme, presently to be known as "Local Education Bill" and promoted by an association called the "Manchester and Salford Committee on Education." Cobden foresaw the long and ultimately drawn battle that was to occupy the next few years, and to which we must now turn in a new chapter, bearing in mind that the N.P.S.A. remained an active and very important body until 1855, and was not finally wound up till 1862.

[1] *Cobden's Speeches on Questions of Public Policy*. Ed. by Bright and Rogers. Vol. ii., p. 583.

[2] Geo. Combe, with whom Cobden maintained a close friendship and extensive correspondence, was a great admirer and advocate of the Common school system of Massachusetts (letter to L.P.S.A., 11th December 1847). Dr Bacon and other Americans gave powerful addresses at L.P.S.A. and N.P.S.A. meetings. Combe also offered (12th November 1850) to supply a large quantity of his pamphlets, etc., gratis to the N.P.S.A.

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CHAPTER VII

THE MANCHESTER AND SALFORD COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION, AND THE CONFLICT OF FORCES FROM 1851-1857

AMONGST those invited to attend the National Conference on 30th October 1850 was Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, who, however, declined the invitation, and sent the following explanation of his views instead [1]:—

> "I regard the Lancashire Public School Association as the representative of a great political party, which seeks to promote the education of the people for wise and just political ends. In this respect I sympathise with the labours of the Association, and I think it will be useful in bringing into strong relief not only the political objects which are dependent on the establishment of a system of National Education, but also those principles of civil liberty which provide that every man shall have the opportunity of so training his child that he shall be fitted by his exertions to raise himself to the exercise of the political franchise with advantage to the State.
>
> "But though I sympathise with these political objects, and think that the L.P.S.A. will do good service by bringing them prominently before the public, I cannot conscientiously concur with them in seeking to establish a system of daily schools separate from the superintendence of the great religious bodies of this country, and in which the religious influence shall not pervade the whole discipline and instruction. Moreover, I hope that, as the Association proceeds, this object will become subordinate to the great social and political rights involved in the establishment of a system of national education."

This and the following chapters will show how truly Kay-Shuttleworth foresaw both the progress of the L.P.S.A. and of the movement for a national system.

Within two months another local scheme was afoot, designed to put into practice the views expressed in this letter. "Suggestions for a Bill to enable the inhabitants of the boroughs of Manchester and Salford, by means of local rates, to construct an effective scheme of local education" were circulated by the Rev. Chas. Richson, M.A., after "an influential meeting of churchmen [2] and some leading Dissenters, at which the proposal . . . met with general approval." [3]

The first meeting of a public nature, "large and influential," lasting three hours, was held in the Mayor's parlour at the Town Hall on 6th January 1851: amongst those present

[1] *Manchester Guardian*, 6th November 1850.

[2] "Alas for the Church Education Society! its soul has transmigrated, and the C.E.S. now lives in the Manchester and Salford Committee on Education." (*Third*) *Appeal to the Evangelical Dissenting Laity, from One of their own Order.*" By Fiat Lux (*i.e.* R. W. Smiles, secretary of N.P.S.A.).

[3] Leader in *Manchester Guardian*, 4th January 1851, and note attached.

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were Revs. Hugh Stowell and Chas. Richson, of the Established Church; Revs. Geo. Osborn and T. Percival Bunting, of the Wesleyan ministry; Oliver Heywood, W. R. Callender, E. R. Le Mare, J. Mayson and William Entwistle, laymen of the Established Church. A few days later Sir J. Kay-Shuttleworth wrote to *The Manchester Guardian* expounding and approving of the scheme; and in February "The Manchester and Salford Committee on Education" was formed, with William Entwistle as chairman, and all the above-named gentlemen in office or on the Committee."[1]

The following statement of the Bill was issued by the Committee[2]:—

1. The Bill proposes to authorise a Rate, not exceeding sixpence in the pound, upon all property within the two boroughs, for the purpose of placing the means of Education within the reach of every inhabitant.
2. The Education so secured will be absolutely free from expense to all who desire to avail themselves of it.
3. This Bill provides for the maintenance and effectual support of all existing schools connected with religious bodies whose claim to participate in the Parliamentary Grant for Education has been recognised by the Legislature.
4. This Bill provides for the admission of all schools similarly qualified, whether actually so participating or not.
5. Schools not subject to Government inspection will not be required to become so by this Bill.
6. No interference with the ownership, discipline or management of existing schools is allowed by this Bill, which is expressly designed to stimulate and extend the system produced by voluntary effort, to a degree commensurate with the work of the community.
7. Proper security is taken by this Bill for the religious character of the Education to be so offered, but attendance on the teaching of distinctive religious doctrine is in no case made compulsory.
8. No schools will be excluded from the benefit of the Rate on account of their connection with any religious community, but all will be admitted on equal terms.
9. Every parent will be at perfect liberty to select for his child such school as may be in his opinion at once the most convenient, the best conducted, and the most in accordance with his own religious opinions.
10. No part of the Rate required can be applied to the erection or establishment of any schools (except as mentioned in No. 12); but the whole amount raised will be applied directly in payment for instruction actually received by the children within the two boroughs.
11. Such payments will be in all cases exactly proportionate to the number of children actually attending schools, and will therefore cease whenever the services which they are intended to remunerate cease to be available.
12. In districts where school accommodation shall be found insufficient, and shall so continue after due notice, provision is made for the establishment of schools out of the rates, so that an adequate supply of school accommodation is fully guaranteed by this Bill.
13. The administration of the funds raised from the rates is effectually secured to the Representatives of the Ratepayers, periodically elected.
14. The principle of local self-government has been maintained

[1] *Statement of the Proceedings of the Committee for promoting the Manchester and Salford Education Bill* (1854), and various pamphlets.

[2] For text of this Bill see Kay-Shuttleworth's *Public Education*. Appendix G, pp. 477-500.

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throughout this Bill, reference being made to a central authority only in cases required for the protection of Ratepayers, Parents, or Children.

15. Ample security is taken by this Bill for the efficient Inspection of all Schools admitted into Union, for the employment of properly qualified masters, and for raising the general standard of Education.

A perusal of this statement shows that in many important principles there is no longer disagreement between the "religious" and the "secular" party: when the proposals of the former came to take definite shape the principles of local rating, of free education, of the establishment of new schools where needed, of admission of all children irrespective of religious belief, were all incorporated.[1] What grounds, then, remained for dispute between these two parties who, with equal emphasis, proclaimed the failure of the voluntary system? Briefly, three. The N.P.S.A. could not, from their religious principles, agree to what Cobden tersely characterised as "a proposal by which everybody shall be called upon to pay for the religious teaching of everybody else"; from their political principles they objected to the perpetuation and extension of a system which inevitably meant the supremacy of the Established Church and of the central authority in education; and from their educational principles they were dissatisfied because the Manchester and Salford Bill dealt only with elementary day schools, and a very limited urban area, instead of the whole country.

In June, 1851, a conference was held between the "Bill Committee" and a deputation of the N.P.S.A., resulting shortly afterwards (August) in a most important "appendix"[2] to the latter's plan, providing under certain conditions and safeguards (especially a "time-table conscience clause") for the admission of existing schools to the scheme of the Association. This appendix was unanimously adopted by the N.P.S.A. in December,[3] Cobden remarking that the clause "seemed to him unobjectionable," while reference was made to words used by the Bishop of Manchester in his recent charge: "Thus while I would never consent to give up the use of the Catechism, the Prayer Book and the distinctive teaching of the Church of England in our Church schools, *I would restrict their use to particular periods of the week*, at which I would permit the child of the Dissenter, at his own and his parents' peril, to absent himself."[4] But the Manchester and Salford Committee

[1] Compulsory attendance is not to be found in the Manchester and Salford Bill, but was apparently inserted before May, 1853. See *Report of the Sub-Committee of Manchester and Salford Committee appointed to inquire into the Government's "Borough Bill" of that Year.*

[2] For text of this "appendix" see Appendix IX.

[3] The delay was due to postponement on account of Kossuth's visit to Manchester.

[4] *Manchester Courier*, 15th November 1851.

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were not so well satisfied. In August and September a lengthy correspondence was carried on in *The Manchester Guardian* by the opposing parties, in which Entwistle wrote :—

> "Now this 'supplementary clause' is really nothing more or less than a total revolution; for it is evident at once that the proposed new scheme shrinks at once from its former colossal proportions and itself becomes a mere supplement to the existing system. . . .
>
> "*Their proposition is not to create a system but to supply a defect: not to raise a structure from its foundations, complete in every part, but to fill up a gap in an old one*[1]: a much more humble office in which it exactly resembles the proposed local measure."

But even the modified form of the N.P.S.A. scheme failed to satisfy Entwistle, chiefly because the teacher was not to be "permitted to inculcate doctrinal religion as part of his duty"; he concluded: "We might just as well offer to join the National Association on condition of their undertaking to provide religious instruction for all their scholars."

Thus the promising movement for a union of all educational enthusiasts came to nothing. In August the Manchester and Salford Committee presented petitions to both Houses of Parliament. In December a meeting in support of their plan was held in the Free Trade Hall, and numerous addresses were delivered by representatives of five different denominations.[2]

In 1852 the Manchester and Salford Bill was read in Parliament for the first time, but in May a petition against it was carried in Manchester Town Council (by thirty-four votes to twenty-two) on the ground that it was unnecessary, as well as objectionable on other grounds.[3]

On the motion for the second reading a Select Committee[4] (including Lord John Russell, Gladstone, Bright and other important men) was appointed to inquire into the state of education in Manchester and district, and what, if any, provisions for education it was advisable to make. The persons examined on behalf of the Manchester and Salford Education

[1] The words in italics are almost identical with those used by Forster both in his memorandum to the Cabinet (November, 1869) and in introducing his Elementary Education Bill (February, 1870). *Debate.* P. 17, col. 2.

[2] On 15th March 1851 all the Roman Catholic clergy—said to represent 100,000 Catholics in Manchester and Salford—withdrew. The document issued by them (see *Report of Select Committee on Education in Manchester and Salford.* Vol. i., p. 163) explains that "Catholics are not allowed to use the Protestant version of the Holy Scriptures, nor do they consider the simple reading of Holy Writ by children a proper, becoming, or legitimate foundation of religious instruction."

The Society of Friends (in Manchester meeting) issued a pamphlet rejecting the scheme, chiefly on the ground that every ratepayer would be called upon to pay for some other religion which he did not approve. The Jews also withdrew.

[3] The Salford Council voted for the principle of the Bill, as did the Manchester Council two years later (1854).

[4] For exact reference of Committee, its personnel, and some extracts of evidence, see Appendix X. The report is dated 21st June 1852.

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Committee were the Rev. C. Richson, Wm. Entwistle and the Dean of Manchester (Very Rev. Geo. Hull Bowers); on behalf of voluntary effort, Edward Baines and J. Adshead; and on general topics, A. Kay and Horace Mann. The Committee published the evidence without any report.

After the dissolution of Parliament on the defeat of Palmerston's Ministry the Committee was reappointed (with some changes in personnel), in February, 1853,[1] and the following witnesses were examined:—Thomas Bazley, Rev. Dr M'Kerrow, Dr John Watts and Samuel Lucas on behalf of the "secular" plan, and Richard Cobden (who merely submitted a letter from a New York gentleman on the Common school system of the United States).

On 17th February the "Free Schools Bill" of the N.P.S.A. was again introduced, as well as the Manchester and Salford Bill about the same time; but no progress was made with them, and in April, while the Committee of Inquiry was still sitting,[2] Lord John Russell introduced, on behalf of Lord Aberdeen's Coalition Ministry, the so-called "Borough Bill."[3]

The Manchester and Salford Committee appointed a sub-committee to consider the Government scheme. The report,[4] signed by William Entwistle, regarded the Bill as similar to their own, but pointed out four serious defects:

1. No provision was made for the supply of school places in destitute districts.
2. It required the continuance of school pence and of voluntary contributions: the Committee did not anticipate success from the experiment of rate aid without the offer of education on terms of absolute freedom.
3. While the Government Bill proposed to levy a rate upon all, it did not confer on any children residing within the district immediately contiguous to a school aided by public funds any right to claim admission thereto.[5]
4. Interference in the management of a school was possible by allegation of a conscientious objection on religious grounds by any parent.

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[1] On motion of T. Milner-Gibson, as agreed at Executive Committee of the N.P.S.A., 4th February 1853.

[2] Milner-Gibson, in Committee, protested against this procedure, and on 12th April Mr Peto moved that it was useless to take more evidence, but the motion was negatived. On 15th April the Executive Committee of the N.P.S.A. asked Milner-Gibson to move an amendment to Lord Russell's Bill postponing it till the Committee's report was presented. On 26th May Peto moved "that the evidence be reported without any opinion thereon"; this was done. See *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Education in Manchester, etc.*, 6th June 1853.

[3] See *Special Reports on Educational Subjects*. Vol. ii., pp. 474-480.

[4] Report of the sub-committee, Manchester, 11th May 1853.

[5] Sir Jas. Kay-Shuttleworth, speaking later of his experience on the Manchester and Salford Bill Com., said: "The result in my mind was that a rate which did not confide the entire management of schools to the municipality would be rejected by the municipalities of England; they would not accept a charge of 6d. in the £ upon the property unless they had the entire regulation of the school." Duke of Newcastle's Commission. *Evidence*. Vol. xi., pp. 318-320.

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The N.P.S.A., on the other hand, took active measures against it, and Lord John Russell received a deputation on 3rd June.[1] In the course of several able speeches its members emphasised many of their old positions, objecting to a rate unaccompanied by local control, and to making provision of education dependent on voluntary effort. Further, M'Kerrow urged that the children of the very poor were not wanted at existing schools by better class people, and that the conscience clause did not guarantee admission to existing schools or safeguard from dismissal. Dr John Watts showed that there were thousands of poor who were not paupers, for whom no provision was made; and also some 2000 to 3000 children in Manchester to whom free instruction without food would be useless, hence "Industrial Feeding Schools" were needed. Lord Russell replied that the time had gone by for a general system, and regard must be had for the feelings of those connected with schools already established. He did not think the secular plan had been sufficiently worked out, but seems to have agreed entirely with the principle of the N.P.S.A. in regard to general and special religious instruction.

On 1st August Dr Watts proposed in the Executive Committee the formation of a Model Secular School, to which from this time onward a great deal of time and thought were given. It was established in Jackson's Row, and afforded a clear illustration of the "efficiency of educational work upon the principles and plan of the N.P.S.A."[2] For many years it was visited by educationalists from all parts.

In January, 1854—the year which saw the opening of the Crimean War—the Manchester and Salford Bill was again introduced, with an important alteration, reverting to the original proposals of 1851[3]: the building of schools out of the rates was now to be authorised under special circumstances, and grants were to be made out of the rates to assist the voluntary effort of schools in destitute districts. This new edition was at once considered by the N.P.S.A. Committee, and a fresh conference was mooted, but never came about. On 24th January the same Committee decided on a permissive measure to be introduced by Milner-Gibson, but a few days later John Bright[4] urged that a Local Bill should be offered to

[1] See Minute Book (2) of N.P.S.A., or *The Advocate of National Instruction*. No. 1. August, 1853.

[2] M'Kerrow. *Life, op. cit.*, p. 179. But obviously a single school did not test or even bring into practice some of the most hotly disputed parts of the scheme.

[3] See Proposal 12, p. 83.

[4] John Bright was certainly a "secularist"; but he took comparatively little part in the education movement at any time. See, however, p. 85 and Trevelyan's *Life*, pp. 394-395 and pp. 406-409.

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the House of Commons as an amendment to the Bill of the Manchester and Salford Committee. The idea was that, if approved by the Executive Committee, the Local Bill should be applicable to Manchester and Salford and introduced along with the Public Bill of the N.P.S.A. Cobden approved of the proposal, but Milner-Gibson thought it inexpedient, and Watts reported that it was impracticable.

Consequently the amended permissive measure (24th Jan.) was adopted as the Bill of the Association; Milner-Gibson was appointed to move it on 21st February and to urge the inexpediency of making Education Bills private Bills. On the second reading of the Manchester and Salford Bill (22nd February) it was defeated on an amendment proposed by Milner-Gibson: "That education to be supported by public rates should not at present be dealt with by any private Bill." Milner-Gibson was certainly acting for the N.P.S.A., but he had some ground for claiming, as he did a year later, that he was also acting on behalf of his constituents,[1] for a petition had been adopted unanimously by the Town Council "praying the House not to sanction any attempt to deal with the subject of education otherwise than by a general and national measure, proposed to the legislature by and on the responsibility of the Government." As the Government declined to take any part in the matter, the Bill was defeated by 105 to 76 votes.

In the autumn Cobden, Bright and Gibson were asked by the N.P.S.A. Committee to advise on the situation: their reply discouraged any action "in the present excited state of affairs" due to the Crimean War.

In issuing its report already referred to at this stage, the Committee of the Manchester and Salford Bill said: "Parliament has thus precluded all reasonable prospect of a successful prosecution of this or any other similar measure" (which they thought surprising after the Committee of Inquiry). The total cost of the work done by the Manchester and Salford Committee alone had amounted to £5000.

Nevertheless in 1855 the effort to secure legislation was continued by the Parliamentary leaders of the various movements, so that at one time there were no less than five Education Bills before the House of Commons, three for England and two for Scotland.

[1] Speaking of the withdrawal of the "Free Schools Bill" in 1854, Milner-Gibson said: "He presented a petition signed by 62,000 of the adult population of Manchester and Salford, in favour of a secular system of education, supported by local rates, and applied by local authority. No less than 107 public meetings, held in 28 different counties, decided in favour of the same plan. Indeed no other plan, if to be supported by rates, met with any acceptance at all." Hansard. 3rd series. Vol. cxxxix., p. 387. Milner-Gibson's speech, 2nd July 1855.

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On 23rd January Lord John Russell announced his intention of bringing in an Education Bill which in many ways resembled the Borough Bill of 1853, and which became known as the Education (No. 1) Bill. On 16th March Sir John Pakington introduced the Education (No. 2) Bill, which was practically the Manchester and Salford Bill; and on 29th March Messrs Milner-Gibson, Cobden and Headlam introduced a "Free Schools Bill" on behalf of the N.P.S.A.

Of these Pakington's held the most important place, and on three occasions was discussed at considerable length, but on 2nd July 1855 all three Bills were withdrawn, as it was clear that none of them could pass in that session.

During the early part of this period Cobden, Richson and M'Kerrow were conferring together, and on 6th February M'Kerrow reported to his committee that their differences were "few and unimportant," Richson having accepted "time-table special instruction, and rate aid to secular schools." On 3rd April the N.P.S.A. resolved to find out whether the two associations could be combined, and co-operate in promoting public petitions to Parliament, and in getting up a town's meeting; but a few days later the Manchester and Salford Committee was dissolved, the Executive Committee believing that they could effect no useful purpose by continuing to press their views on the Government.[1]

As far as Manchester is concerned, this really marks the close of a period of educational history. The fierceness of the struggle, and the bitterness of language used in 1850, had been replaced by mutual recognition of the strength of the opponent's position. In particular many of the difficulties and all the intolerance of the religious difficulty had disappeared. Agreement had been reached on almost all important points, and what now delayed the harvest after years of labour was simply the fact that opinion in Parliament was far behind Manchester. In all essentials the lines on which the Elementary Education system of England and Wales should have been built up were worked out in Manchester in these years. For it is to be remembered that the form in which the Elementary Education Act of 1870 was altered in favour of denominational schools was not in accord with any previously expressed weight of opinion and was not expected or claimed by denominationalists themselves. From this time the question in Manchester was: "How can we all combine to get universal education?" and until educationalists became alarmed in 1869 by the old fear of the unfair triumph of one party or the other, a united front was maintained.

But if it is true that a great stage of the march had been

[1] See letter from Wm. Entwistle to Alex. Henry, Appendix XI.

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completed, and a notable alliance accomplished, it is also true that a long halt was now forced upon the tireless advance guard, united though they were. As early as 2nd October 1855 the N.P.S.A. again had conversations with Richson, but a proposed joint conversazione fell through. The annual meeting of the N.P.S.A. on 29th January 1856 decided to ask Milner-Gibson to introduce their Bill again, but while expressing his willingness, he thought it hopeless to expect a favourable opportunity. In March the new motions of Lord John Russell were examined and found for the most part unsatisfactory. Then, as a result of a private conference with Richson, "Marginal Notes for an Education Bill" [1] appeared in the local papers, but the Committee [2] of the N.P.S.A. did not recommend its adoption, though they considered that individual members might support it after the introduction of provisions for admitting secular schools, and protecting the rights of conscience. In August Cobden suggested a test "whether the Committee of Privy Council on Education would admit the Model Secular School to participate in the Parliamentary grant for education

[1] *Marginal Notes of a Bill* (undated, but known to be March, 1856, from other sources).

1. Permissive.
2. Local Committee elected by and out of Ratepayers.
4. Free School Nominations in ratio of two to every hundred of population to be established and distributed among necessitous inhabitants for prescribed periods by Local Committee.
6. Schools that are inspected by H.M.I. or will conform to other regulations and inspection are eligible.
10. Local Committee not to acquire any right to interfere with the internal management, instruction and discipline of schools, except as herein provided.
12. The pecuniary value of free Nominations to be per month of four weeks (range according to age, 1s. 4d. to 2s.). To be paid to School Managers or Proprietors where the children holding Nominations are registered.
13. All expenses to be paid out of school rate, charged and collected as a Borough Rate, not to exceed £2 on every hundred of the population. This plan can be carried out at a total cost in Manchester of £6566, substantially less than a 2d. rate, and in Salford for £1895, substantially less than a 2½d. rate.

The chief concern of this Bill is so strikingly "aid" that it recalls the fact of a private society preceding the Education Aid Society (see Chapter VIII.) and also M'Kerrow's remark in deputation to Russell, 3rd June 1853:

> "I recently visited a school, of which I had occasion to remark that it was of no use, from its rate of fees and from other circumstances, to the working and poorer classes. A few benevolent gentlemen, however, encouraged a number of poor families to send their children to this school, by agreeing to pay the whole sum required beyond sixpence a week for their education. On a second visit I found that although a very large number had thus been obtained, they were soon allowed to disappear; and was told that they spoiled the school, and the parents of the better class had threatened to remove their children if the lower were permitted to attend."

[2] At this time Francis Taylor is nearly always chairman.

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in the event of the management of the school being undertaken by any of the religious denominations." Gibson supported some such action, and both he and Cobden were against re-introducing a Bill.

But soon, with notable optimism, and despite twenty years of disheartening experiences, Cobden [1] once more set to work to bring the conflicting parties into some kind of agreement and common action.[2] He wrote to Sir John Pakington in November, 1856, asking him to arrange for a meeting of Canon Richson and Dr M'Kerrow, "and see if it be not possible to come to Parliament as a united party for a Bill—a *Local Bill* for Manchester," and urged, "It is not a question of principle that separates you [3] from us, but merely one between nine o'clock and some other hour of the day." Pakington was favourably inclined to the proposal. In addressing a meeting in the Athenæum at Manchester (18th November) he ridiculed the idea that no change was necessary in our means of education or that "an almost unintelligible division in an expiring House of Commons should settle it for twenty months." [4] Three days before, a Conference had been held at Manchester between the two parties, resulting in agreement on five points; on 15th December, at a larger meeting, agreement was reached on six points,[5] and on 18th December Pakington wrote to

[1] Speaking in January, 1851, Cobden had said: "There is no one in this room, or in the country, that can have a stronger conviction than I have of the utter hopelessness of ever attempting to unite the religious bodies of this country in any system of education."

[2] The negotiations are explained at length, with the correspondence, in *Life of M'Kerrow*. P. 180 *et seq*.

[3] Pakington had been closely associated with the Manchester and Salford Committee. (See p. 89.)

[4] Mr Laing, M.P., in an address to his constituents had said: "Public opinion, and the House of Commons, by an immense majority, decided not so much against any particular resolution, faulty as many of them were, as against the principle of attempting, under existing circumstances, to supersede local and private efforts by any grand uniform and centralised system of national education. For the next ten or twenty years the question is practically decided, that if we want education we must educate ourselves, and not trust to the State to do it for us."

[5] The chairman reported that a meeting had been held on the preceding day (15th December) at which the following resolutions had been adopted, as the basis of an Education Bill intended to be introduced in the ensuing session of Parliament. Mr Thomas Bazley, a vice-president of the National Public School Association, had presided at the meeting, which had been attended by a number of the most influential members of the Association and of the late Manchester and Salford Committee on Education respectively:—

1. That a Rate for Education is desirable.
2. That all schools deriving aid from the Rate shall be subject to Inspection, but such Inspection as is paid for out of the Rate shall not extend to the religious instruction.
3. That all schools shall be entitled to aid out of the Rate, provided the Instruction other than Religious shall come up to a required standard, and that no child shall be excluded on religious grounds.
4. That distinctive Religious Formularies, where taught, shall be

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M'Kerrow expressing his interest in the "new education movement in Manchester." He continued: "The wishes of your united parties in Manchester (unless a strong opposing demonstration is made there) must have great weight with the House of Commons." Milner-Gibson also expressed (8th January 1857) his pleasure at the union of forces, and promised his aid if he found himself "able to assent to the principle and main provisions of the Bill."

On 6th February 1857 a great meeting took place in the Free Trade Hall, at which prominent members of the two parties for the first time appeared in public as allies. Very powerful speeches were made by Wm. Entwistle, Canon Richson, Sir James Kay-Shuttleworth, who gave great praise to Cobden, and Sir John Pakington; M'Kerrow, who generously refused to speak for fear of robbing Pakington of time, published his views in two very able and weighty letters during the two following weeks. Kay-Shuttleworth said "the time was coming when the efforts of Manchester would be very valuable," but "he was not very sanguine . . . that even this harmonious combination would lead at once to a complete and happy result."

By this time a new organisation had been definitely formed under the title of the "General Committee on Education," with the experienced late secretary of the N.P.S.A., R. W. Smiles, as its secretary, and with such well-known men as Thomas Bazley, Wm. Entwistle, Dr M'Kerrow and Canon Richson on its sub-committee, which included men of all denominations.[1]

During January a Bill had been drafted and on 18th February it was introduced into the House of Commons, backed by Sir John Pakington, Mr Cobden, Lord Stanley and Mr Headlam, but in March the second reading was twice put off through lack of time, and Parliament was shortly afterwards dissolved, consequent on the Government defeat on Cobden's resolutions on the war in China. Sir John Pakington reluctantly withdrew the Bill, and though his own party then came into power he did not introduce it again.[2]

taught at some hour to be specified by the Managers of the School in each case, in order to facilitate the withdrawal of those children whose Parents or Guardians may object to their instruction in such distinctive Religious Formularies.

5. That there be no interference with the Management or Instruction of schools other than may be needed to carry out the principles of the foregoing resolutions.

6. That the Education Rate be administered by Local Authorities, to be specially elected by and out of the Ratepayers for the purpose.

[1] The N.P.S.A. practically ended its career on 20th January 1857, when Alexander Henry resigned the presidency and Smiles the secretaryship.

[2] No doubt this was the Bill to which reference was made by W. E. Forster in his speech on Richards' Amendment on Committee stage of Bill, 1870,

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No further steps seem to have been taken until on 11th February 1859 Pakington moved for the appointment of what became known as "Lord Newcastle's" Commission. In doing so he made some important observations which perhaps explain his inaction since March, 1857:

> "I think it is perfectly clear that H.M. Government is not disposed to legislate on this question. I think they ought to do so; but I speak in no spirit of censure, for I do not believe that if they were to be succeeded by any other Government, that other Government, as the question stands at present, would be disposed to legislate upon it."[1]

Speaking of Bills of 1855, 1856 and 1857, he said: "I merely brought them forward as embodying my own views, but I was always conscious of the difficulties of the question, and never supposed that honorary members would pass those Bills into a law"[2]; and of the Committee of 1853: "It added nothing to the information which I hold to be essential to the solution of the great difficulties with which the question is surrounded.[3]

Some of the evidence given before this most important Commission has already been quoted; with the great mass of it we have now nothing to do; but the conclusions and results must be briefly stated.

The Commissioners were "divided by deep-seated differences of opinion with regard to the duty of the Government towards education." A minority thought sufficient interest had been aroused for Government to abstain from making grants, except grants for the building of schools . . . and that the annual grants now made should be gradually withdrawn," but the minority gave in.

The question still remained, "how could grants of public money be so arranged as at one and the same time to protect the central treasury from extravagant demands, to foster local interest in education and to preserve the denominational character and specific religious teaching of voluntary schools?"[4]

The Commissioners proposed[5]:

(*a*) changes in the conditions of awarding the State grant to schools. (This was put in force in Lowe's "Revised Code.")

(*b*) a grant from the county rate to be paid for individual scholars upon examination by examiners, appointed by County Boards of Education. (The "County Boards" were never formed.)

when he said: "(Cobden) put his name to the Bill of the right hon. member for Droitwich (Sir John Pakington), a Bill which was the parent of the measure introduced by myself and the Home Secretary." *Elementary Education Act Debate.* P. 209.

[1] Hansard. 3rd series. Vol. cxlviii., p. 1193. The Government of which he spoke was Derby-Disraeli Administration, 1858.

[2] *Op cit.*, p. 1194.. [3] *Op cit.*, p. 1196.

[4] *Report of Duke of Newcastle's Commission.* 1861. Vol. i., pp. 297-299.

[5] *Op cit.*, vol. i., pp. 301-308.

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No legislation was undertaken by the Government in consequence of the report, its only immediate fruit being Lowe's "Revised Code," which was chiefly remarkable for reducing the Government grant to schools from £813,441 in 1861 to £636,810 in 1865, but was not satisfactory, and increased, instead of diminishing, educational destitution.

On 21st November 1862 the National Public School Association was formally dissolved. Five members (H. J. Leppoc, A. Winterbottom, R. M. Shipman and Councillors John King, jun., and Aspden) met in a committee room of the Town Hall —in strange contrast with the inaugural meeting in 1850— and voted the disposal of the £260 balance that still existed.[1] The later history of the "General Committee on Education" is lost; and whether totally defunct or not, it had ceased to exist as a force. It seemed as though, after all, Baines and the Voluntary party had carried the day, and Laing had prophesied truly. Certainly Cobden had been right when he regarded the union of all parties on education as the most Utopian of all political ideals. But considering how unformed public opinion was in 1830; how tenacious the Established Church was of its privileged position; how divided on this subject were even the most progressive politicians, especially Radicals, Liberals and Dissenters; how distrustful the Conservatives were of real universal education; and how afraid were the Radicals of State control—considering all these things, it is not surprising that a great national scheme had not been carried. What is surprising is that year after year, for twenty-five years already, the men in Manchester who knew the condition of the people and cared for their enlightenment had fought on so optimistically, with so much ability and devotion. They kept before the country the fact that the Education Question was in the very front of all its problems; and not because of the unimportance of the subject, but just because of its fundamental nature, the great day of the fulfilment of their hopes was still postponed.

[1] £60 was given to R. W. Smiles, late secretary, and the remainder to the Manchester Free (Secular) School, in aid of its funds.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE MANCHESTER EDUCATION AID SOCIETY, 1864–1871

"No man shall bring up his children according to his own phantasy, but shall be compelled to give them an education in learning and virtue."

JOHN KNOX.

THE efforts of Manchester men to obtain a great national or even an effective local scheme of education had proved unavailing. The various bodies which had fought so strenuously were dissolved and it was clear that for some years nothing would be done by the Government. But the enthusiasm of Manchester men for education was not dead, and a new movement of great importance was presently set on foot.

In the month of January, 1864, a philanthropic but hitherto undistinguished Manchester business man, Edward Brotherton, wrote a series of seven eloquent and ardent letters to *The Manchester Guardian* on *The Present State of Popular Education in Manchester*.[1] After giving reasons for believing that the condition of the lower orders of Manchester was becoming worse, and that the deplorable condition of the children was due, not to lack of school accommodation, but of money, he made the following appeal and declaration of his faith in education :—

> "I am not asking for bread for these poor. No! but I ask you for that which would make them independent of your help. . . . Sooner or later this work of Education will have to be done. The longer it is delayed the more costly it will be. . . . Does any reasonable man think that if a general plan of Education had been adopted ten or twelve years ago the cotton famine[2] would have been felt so severely as it has been? I for one do not. A good education for the masses would have wrought like magic in their general elevation."

Moved by these letters, on 26th February a number of gentlemen met together and formed the "Manchester and Salford Education Aid Society,"[3] with the Mayor of Manchester, J. M. Bennett, as President, Alfred Milne and W. R. Callender, jun.,[4] as Vice-Presidents, and Edward Brotherton himself

[1] The substance of his seven letters was after published in book form under this title, with the author's initials, "E. B."

[2] During American Civil War, 1861-1865. *Facts of the Cotton Famine*. Dr John Watts.

[3] The Annual Reports of this Society have furnished most of the information contained in this chapter and are referred to in the notes only where extracts are given.

[4] Especially prominent (1868-1870) on Manchester Education Bill Committee and the National Education Union. His father was a member of the National Education Society in 1837.

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Honorary Secretary, while the General Committee included Professors Greenwood and R. C. Christie, E. R. Le Mare,[1] J. S. Mayson, J. A. Bremner,[2] Dr John Watts, S. Robinson, and Francis Taylor.

"For ten years previously a few gentlemen associated with Mr E. R. Le Mare had privately subscribed funds for the purpose of assisting poor parents to educate their children. From this private association the Education Aid Society borrowed its fundamental idea."[3]

The object of the new Society was stated to be "the general education of the poor upon such principles as may unite members of all denominations in a common effort." It was to be attained, first, in existing schools, by paying for the children of poor parents so much of the school fees as might be needful, and, second, by aiding, and, if it was deemed advisable, by establishing free schools for the children of parents who were unable to pay any portion of the school fees. The society was to be supported entirely by voluntary contributions.[4]

Rule 8 of the Society is instructive and important:

> "The principles guiding the application of aid to existing schools shall be identical with those adopted by the Committee of the Privy Council on Education. All schools which are in receipt of annual Government grants and also those which do not receive such aid—provided they are schools 'in connection with some recognised religious denomination' or 'in which besides secular instruction the Scriptures are read daily from the Authorised Version,' and 'provided also that their efficiency be satisfactory to the Committee'—shall be entitled to be placed upon the list of schools to which scholars may be sent, the whole or part of whose fees may be paid by this Society."[5]

The E.A.S. presently had on its list 103 schools—*i.e.* nine out of every ten public schools in Manchester and Salford. For the quarter ending Christmas, 1864, no less than 4978 scholars had been sent to 90 schools at a weekly cost per child of 1·597 pence. A calculation showed that the total weekly earnings of 238 families was but £146, 12s., and yet something was paid by the parents towards their children's education.

At Sharp Street School, Angel Meadow, a daily dinner was given to the children, and care was taken that none but the children of the poorest were admitted; each child paid 1d. weekly, and the cost of the daily meal was 4¾d. per child per

[1] "E. R. Le Mare was an influential member of Canon Stowell's congregation in Christchurch, Salford, and it may be safely assumed that he voiced the Canon's views and put them into practice." Note by Mr John Cooper.

[2] Secretary of Manchester Education Bill Committee, 1869, etc.

[3] *Report of Education Aid Society*. 1865 and 1866. Balance of £76, 10s. 9d. was handed over from Le Mare's private society to E.A.S.

[4] *Cf. Marginal Notes for an Education Bill*, 1855, and M'Kerrow's statement, Chapter VII., p. 90.

[5] In no case was the payment by the Committee of the E.A.S. to exceed the sum of 4d. per head per week.

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week. At Savile Street School, Oxford Road (in connection with the Independent Chapel, Rusholme Road), dinner was provided three days per week at a nominal cost.

At the end of the first year's work the Committee were able to report that "the Society has already won the confidence of all denominations, and in this fact lies its chief value." Commenced by the manufacturers and capitalists of Manchester and Salford, it needed the co-operation of all, and the Committee anticipated an annual expenditure of about £2000. "The condition of the uneducated masses of our great towns," concluded the report, "is the heaviest burden and the greatest reproach to England, and the ease with which the condition might be improved renders the disgrace the more bitter and the misery the more pungent."

During the second year the Society made two vital discoveries: first, "the fact that the Society can only succeed in bringing about two-fifths of the neglected children of Manchester and Salford to school, and many of these for a short time only, proclaims the inefficiency of even the best constituted voluntary associations to secure the primary instruction of the people"; and, second, that the income was less than the expenditure.

Investigations had meanwhile been made and statistics compiled. Everywhere the results were the same: a majority of children between three and twelve years of age were found to be neither at work nor at school; and the amount of illiteracy was very great. The fact was that a very large number of parents would not send their children to school, though they could pay the fees: 3612 children received aid from the Society, but 2175 were necessarily passed over for this reason. "If schools were supported by a public rate, doubtless many of these 2175 children would be sent to them; but it would be most demoralising for a charitable society to pay school fees for parents who are able to help themselves." During the last quarter 13,180 children had received grants in aid, but only 7200 children were actually attending school. The concluding paragraphs of this second report are in the nature of educational landmarks and should be read in their entirety:

> "The Committee believe they have proved that no private or voluntary effort can reach the depths of this evil in the social constitution and that further legislation is urgently needed—such legislation as shall boldly seek to provide, and so far as possible secure, the primary education of every child in our great community.
>
> "The Social aspects of this important question especially concern us. The first need of society is order. If order is to be produced in men and women, what kind of preparation for it is that which leaves the children as wild as young ostriches in the desert? When for the first ten or twelve years of life there has been no discipline either in life or body—when cleanliness has been unknown—when no law of God or man has been

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> considered sacred, and no power recognised but direct physical force—is it to be expected that they will quietly and industriously settle down in mills, workshops, warehouses or at any trade or in the orderly routine of any family, to work continuously day by day, morning till evening, from Monday till Saturday? The expectation is absurd. Continuous labour and sober thought are alike impossible to them."

On 22nd March 1866 Edward Brotherton died—"the mind which had originated the Education Aid Society, and the hand which had penned its admirable reports." A fever caught in the course of his visitations among the poor was the immediate cause of his death. This was the greatest blow the Society could possibly have received; but they decided to go on, despite also the growing excess of expenditure over income and the continued apathy of many parents.[1]

Further investigations showed that of children between the ages of three and twelve 43 per cent. were at school and 57 per cent. not. Whatever advance had been made by means of the Revised Code, it had been in a lateral direction rather than downwards. "The substratum of ignorance has scarcely been penetrated by the Government aid.[2] . . . The people to be acted upon shrink from observation and responsibility, forming clans of their own in the obscure parts of the town and turning their backs upon all that is virtuous and of good repute."

The conclusion of the Committee is but a more emphatic repetition of that of the previous year:

> "In many instances it is impossible to persuade the parents to accept the gift of education. The Committee candidly admit that when they commenced operations they were wholly unprepared for such a result. Herein lies the true value of their researches. They have sounded the depths of ignorance previously unexplored—they have gauged the extent of the evil, and have put into figures the monstrous sum of popular ignorance in these districts.[3] At the same time they have discovered that gentle treatment will not wholly arrest the disorder. . . . Insignificant, therefore, as the few thousand neglected children sent to school by the Committee of this Society may appear—as representing the direct results of its labours—the indirect results are of immeasurable value."

In October, 1866, the National Association for the progress of Social Science held its Annual Congress in Manchester, to which the Education Aid Society presented a paper in answer to one of the questions before the Congress: "By what means

[1] Out of 20,915 children receiving grants at end of 1866 only 9490 attended —*i.e.* 45·3 per cent. A year earlier figures were 13,180 and 7200—*i.e.* 54 per cent.

[2] "Two families living herded together in one small cellar. One family consists of father, mother and six children, oldest past fifteen. The other family contained a mother, son (aged twenty) and three daughters (two over fifteen)—*i.e.* in one filthy cellar, with the only furniture two beds on the floor, and an orange box. Not one of the thirteen individuals can read." *Third Annual Report*, 1867.

[3] They had really done little more, though in a different way, than the Statistical Society in 1834 and the N.P.S.A. in 1851-1853, as has been already shown.

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can the impediments to the education of children of the manual-labour class, arising from the apathy or poverty of parents, and the claims of the market for labour, be most effectively removed?" Much of the experience already quoted from the annual reports is embodied in this paper. Further, statistics were presented to show that in 1834 in Manchester and Salford 1 in 10·33 of the population was attending day schools, but in 1861 the number was only 1 in 11. In fact the Manchester Statistical Society had estimated the number of children at school in 1862 as 41,848, leaving 52,698 children not attending school; further calculations for 1865–1866 showed nearly 50,000 not attending. Moreover, they accepted the statement of the well-known Factory Inspector Horner in his report that "a large proportion of children employed in factories, who obtain certificates of attendance at school, have received no instruction at all." In support of this they instanced a sewing school for young women from sixteen to twenty-three years old, during the cotton famine: 963 passed through, of whom, though mostly ex-scholars of factory schools, only 199 could read.

The results of an extensive canvass are illuminating and may be quoted in full:

> "During this canvass, up to the close of 1865, 7650 families with children were visited. These families consisted of 37,975 persons. The number of children of all ages living with parents or guardians was 23,998. Of these there were:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | 7,804 | above 12 years of age |
> | 11,086 | between 3 and 12 years of age |
> | 5,098 | under 3 years of age |
>
> Of the 7804 above 12, only 112 were at school, 6424 at work, 1268 neither at school nor at work. Of the 11,086 between 3 and 12 years, there were 762 at work, 4537 at school, and 5787 neither at school nor work. Of children of all ages above 3 years living with parents or guardians, there were only 4649 at school and 7055 neither at school nor at work. Thus in every 100 children living with parents or guardians and not at work there are 40 at school and 60 not at school. This is convincing proof that the alarm felt concerning the want of education among the manual-labour class is but too well grounded, and that former estimates are even below the truth.
>
> "The bulk of the families visited in this manner belong to the manual-labour class. The average of their earnings does not exceed 2s. per head per week, exclusive of rent, there being many cases where the income is only 1s. 6d or even 1s. per head."

The Association rightly emphasised among the "impediments" the indifference of parents, which accounted for almost as much non-attendance as did poverty, but they added:

> "This lamentable indifference on the part of parents to their children's early training is accounted for by the utter absence of education among the parents themselves, especially amongst the mothers, whose influence at home is paramount."[1]

[1] "In a canvass of 1050 families, containing 988 fathers, and 911 mothers 183 of the fathers and 394 of the mothers could not read." *Social Science Congress Report.* P. 11.

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The Social Science Congress was then informed of the conclusions to which the Education Aid Society had been forced, which may be recapitulated:

> (1) Nothing less than some system of compulsory school attendance can effectually grapple with the difficulty of non-attendance caused by the apathy and indifference of a large proportion of parents.
> (2) If State compulsion is introduced, education must be free.
> (3) If free education is provided, then a compulsory local rate must be levied.

The Hon. H. A. Bruce [1] referred to the revelations as a "thunderclap from Manchester," [2] and "warm and passionate discussion followed."

Before the end of the year the well-known Curate of St Thomas', Ardwick, the Rev. Joseph Nunn,[3] discounted the conclusions of the Education Aid Society by trying to prove, first, that the mass of ignorance in Manchester had been grossly overstated, and, second, that the investigations of the Education Aid Society had been very incomplete and therefore unreliable.

In regard to his first point, he argued that it was absurd to count school age as from three to twelve, involving nine years' attendance for all. In Prussia the average attendance was $\frac{5}{6}$ths of the population; the same proportion in Manchester would give 81,300, showing an actual deficiency of about 23,300. But Nunn thought $\frac{1}{4}$th would be a sufficient proportion of England, so he concluded that "an additional 10,000 to 15,000 would bring our schools up to the highest attainable efficiency." He calculated that about 5000 children in Manchester did not enter any school at all. But he scoffed at Dr John Watts' belief that poverty was accountable for this.

In regard to the second point, Mr Nunn instanced St Saviour's Parish as being only credited with one private school, whereas the number in 1864 was eleven, several of them of considerable size. If we recall what the reports of 1834 had said about private schools, or turn to those shortly published by the inspectors in 1869,[4] this omission will not seem very serious, though regrettable.

The really important fact is that Mr Nunn admitted on his own calculations a deficiency of 10,000 to 15,000 out of a total

[1] A former vice-president of the Committee of Privy Council on Education. He became Lord Aberdare in 1873.

[2] See last *Report of E.A.S.* P. 13.

[3] Joseph Nunn, M.A. *Facts and Fallacies on the Condition of Popular Education in Manchester, with reference to the New Education Bill.* 1866 (? December).

[4] See Chapter IX., p. 115, and Appendix XII.

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school population of 68,500, and considering how to bring up the numbers he says :

> "Such an increase cannot, however, be looked for without some special means be taken to remove from the streets the children of the most vicious and degraded. . . . The only means as yet devised for their good are the Day Ragged Schools. It is much to be wished that efficient Government aid could be afforded to Ragged Schools. If a sufficient number of such schools were founded in the worst localities and the children could be induced or compelled to attend, it is believed that little would be left to be desired."

Hence Mr Nunn did not controvert the main positions of the Education Aid Society. He did not deal with the question of rate aid ; he agreed that there was a deficiency in attendance, and that only compulsion could bring about universal attendance.

A fourth year's experience impressed the Committee still more thoroughly with the hopeless nature of the task they had undertaken, and now subscriptions fell off so considerably that only those children who had made a good number of attendances could be further helped ; nevertheless the Committee decided to go on until the voluntary principle was superseded.

During this year, 1867, fresh attempts were made in Parliament to obtain legislation, and it soon became evident that the work of the Society, like that of its predecessors, was to have an effect on the mind of the nation and on the action of those Parliamentarians who, along with the veteran Lord Russell, now took up the work of Cobden and Pakington, as we shall presently see. It will be best merely to mention at this point that in April the "Education of the Poor" Bill [1] was introduced by Messrs H. A. Bruce, W. E. Forster and Algernon Egerton, and had a special and intimate connection with the Manchester Education Aid Society ; under this Bill a rate might be levied, but education was not to be free nor was attendance to be compulsory.

By this time the purely voluntary party had practically ceased to exist. On 11th October 1867 the Congregational Union of England and Wales met at Manchester, and Edward Baines, M.P., for thirty years the energetic if wordy champion of voluntaryism in education, made it the occasion for a declaration in favour of a national system. He admitted "with pain" that the extension and improvement of education had been greater than was likely from purely voluntary effort, and also that from 1846 onwards, although no religious denominations had suffered either from lack of impartiality or from interference of inspectors, the progress of purely voluntary schools had not been satisfactory, and those of Congregationalists were

[1] See Chapter IX., p. 107.

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not more numerous. He even went so far as to state that "those schools which are maintained without receiving grants chiefly remain without grants because they cannot afford efficient teachers," and in the following passage showed how completely he had been reluctantly forced to admit, as his fellow "voluntary," Edward Miall, also had done, the defeat of his cherished hopes:

> "We have seen that when all schools were alike supported purely on the voluntary system, that system proved equal to the sustaining, extending and improving of education. But when public grants were introduced, they gave advantages so great to the schools which received them as to defy competition on the part of the schools which had no help from the public purse. With the exception of the instances already mentioned, and as a general rule, the schools of the Nonconformists were inferior as to their buildings and school apparatus; their teachers were less numerous and had received shorter periods of training; their best scholars were attracted to the State-aided schools by the temptation of becoming pupil teachers. They did not possess the inestimable advantage of periodical visits and examinations by Inspectors of learning, experience and authority. The school committees and teachers became disheartened, the subscriptions declined; in short, the purely voluntary system, which had done such immense service in former years, was obviously overmatched and undermined. A well-principled and gallant struggle was carried on under all these disadvantages for twenty years. It is for you to say whether it shall still be continued, or whether you feel that adherence to the same system will defeat your own object, by diminishing your power to aid in the education of the people." [1]

It was easy for Baines to argue that the situation had been materially changed by the Reform Bill of 1867. "It is felt," he said, "by the upper and middle classes that the education of those who are now introduced in such numbers to political privileges and to great influence in the choice of our law makers is a matter of pressing necessity for the safety of the Empire," and moreover "The more popular is the basis of the Government the nearer it will approach to a voluntary character and therefore to our own position." He even went so far as to admit he and his friends had "overstrained a religious scruple in objecting to public grants for secular instruction in schools of any denomination." His "deliberate and revised judgment" was: "I think we may properly receive aid, out of the taxes to which we ourselves have contributed, for the teaching of reading, writing and arithmetic to the children of our poorer fellow-countrymen." He looked for such encouragement, stimulation and help of all existing agencies for education as would "avoid its enforcement by penalties and police, the agencies of despotism." In conclusion Baines announced his support of the recent Bill promoted by the Manchester Education Aid Society and introduced by Hon. H. A. Bruce.

[1] See *Address of Edward Baines, Esq., M.P., as Chairman of a Breakfast of the Congregational Union of England and Wales*, at Manchester, 11th Oct. 1867.

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This Bill had been withdrawn on 15th July, but in 1868 it was again introduced,[1] with a permissive clause for a compulsory order, showing clearly the influence of the disclosures and conclusions of the Manchester Education Aid Society. During the year that Society found itself increasingly short of funds; this necessitated a further restriction in the scope of its work, but similar associations were formed in Birmingham, Nottingham and Liverpool. All these reported precisely the same difficulties as had been experienced in Manchester.

At the Fifth Annual Meeting, Manchester, 1st March 1869, notable support was given by Canon Richson, Dr M'Kerrow and Hugh Birley, M.P., none of whom figure in the list of officers and committee. No allusion is made in this report to the Bills of 1867 and 1868 as emanating in any way from the Education Aid Society, but at the Sixth Annual Meeting[2] the president, Oliver Heywood, said: "From it sprang the Education Bill Committee, somewhat lost in its small numbers between the greater League at Birmingham, and the greater Union."

By this time (20th June 1870) Forster's Bill had already been before the country for four months, but the Society appealed for "adequate public support until satisfactory legislative provision for the instruction of the necessitous."

Two extracts may be given from this document:

> "It is not too much to say that the general cry now raised for a remedy for these evils (the failure of voluntary effort, the apathy of parents, and the vast populations stagnating in ignorance) is mainly due to the feeling of earnest inquiry which the early reports of this society called forth."
>
> "The unpalatable doctrine which this Society was the first to enunciate, that compulsion alone can bring the mass of neglected children to school,[3] has taken root in the mind of thoughtful and earnest men throughout the country and is acknowledged by the Government to be a necessity in any future legislation."

In consequence of the passing of the Elementary Education Bill of 1870 and the formation of School Boards, it was decided on 5th January 1871 to cease granting aid after 25th March 1871.[4]

The work of this Society was small if judged either by the number of children helped in the seven years of its activity or by the amount of money distributed; but, as has been shown,

[1] For details see Chapter IX., pp. 107-108.

[2] On 20th June 1870 (*Sixth Annual Report*).

[3] Individuals had already done so, of course—*e.g.* Canon Stowell and Rev. J. Nunn; and Cobden was not averse to it. But no earlier association had advocated it; but see Chapter VII., p. 87, for Watts' suggestion.

[4] "In carrying out the provisions of the Act of 1870, the Manchester School Board was greatly aided by the experience gained by Dr Watts and other members of the Board in administering the funds of the Education Aid Society, and the Board also availed themselves of the services of some of the servants of the Society, particularly its chief inspecting visitor." Note by Mr John Cooper. 1914.

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"never was the inadequacy of the voluntary system more signally proved." The next chapter must show how, though not immediately enforced by Parliament, the idea of compulsory attendance had now taken a firm root in the minds of most ardent educationalists; and must explain how, in spite of what had passed, it happened that the influence of Manchester was now to be regarded as retrograde by the enthusiasts of Birmingham and elsewhere, and, most important of all, how the work of at least twenty-three years played a part in shaping the National system established in 1870.

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CHAPTER IX

THE INFLUENCE OF MANCHESTER ON THE ELEMENTARY EDUCATION ACT OF 1870.

THE National Public School Association and the Manchester and Salford Committee had failed, both separately and jointly, to secure an Act of Parliament of any kind. The explanation is to be sought partly in the complexity and apparent insolubility of the questions at issue, and partly in the political stagnation during Palmerston's last Ministry, but not in a lack of interest in Education, or failure to appreciate its importance.

To this period, from 1857–1867, belong the Duke of Newcastle's Commission, which presented its report in 1861; Sir Robert Lowe's "Revised Code" (1861–1862), which followed it, but did not meet the requirements of the situation in regard to provision of schools, provision of teachers, or attendance of all children; and also Sir John Pakington's Committee of the House of Commons in 1865, which concluded its draft report by expressing the opinion that an education rate ought to form part of any scheme for extended assistance.

With the passing of the Second Reform Bill in 1867, and the accession to office and power of the Liberals under Gladstone in 1868, it became certain that some large measure of national education would be submitted to Parliament, and its postponement until 1870 was only due to the necessity of dealing with Irish legislation first; the very important Endowed Schools Bill was, in fact, passed in 1869.

When Mr Forster, now vice-president of the Committee of Privy Council on Education, but not a member of the Cabinet, brought in his Bill in 1870 there were at least three organisations in the field, all of which brought a very great weight of public opinion to bear on the Government. These were (1) the Manchester Education Bill Committee, far less widely known than, and quite overshadowed in public by, (2) the National Education League, with its origin and headquarters in Birmingham, and (3) the National Education Union, centred in Manchester and London.[1] The first-named, despite its local

[1] In *The Elementary School Contest* Francis Adams says: "Two Unions were immediately started in opposition (*i.e.* to the National Education League). One had its headquarters in Birmingham, the other (National Education Union) in Manchester, the latter being the most important and representative." The Birmingham Union does not appear to have left conspicuous evidences of

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nature and limited activity, is of great importance, both from its actual efforts and also from the very close connection of Mr Forster with it.

The Manchester Education Bill Committee was a direct outcome of the Manchester Education Aid Society, through whose agency a public town's meeting was called and held in the Manchester Town Hall, 6th December 1866, when the following resolution was passed :—

> "That in the opinion of this meeting it is desirable to make complete provision for the primary instruction of the children of the poorer classes by means of local rates, under local administration, with legal power, in cases of neglect, to enforce attendance at school."

It was also decided to petition Parliament in accordance with this resolution, and to prepare and promote a Bill, for which purpose the following gentlemen were appointed a committee, with power to add to their number :—Francis Taylor [1] (chairman), Benjamin Armitage,[2] R. M. Shipman,[3] R. C. Christie,[4] John Watts,[5] Herbert Philips,[6] John S. Mayson,[7] and J. A. Bremner.[8]

The full committee ultimately numbered about forty [9] and included the following names, which have already often appeared in the local educational movement :—Jacob Bright, M.P. (Quaker), W. R. Callender, jun. (Church of England), E. R. Le Mare (Church of England), H. J. Leppoc (Unitarian),

its activity. The Earl of Harrowby, its president, was president of the Educational Congress (First Day) at Manchester, 3rd November 1869, when the N.E.U. was inaugurated. The words he then used justify the lack of further references to the Birmingham Union : "A meeting of members of the Birmingham Education Union, *whose aims are identical with those of the Manchester Education Union*, was held at Birmingham yesterday." *Manchester Examiner and Times*, 10th December 1869.

[1] A Congregationalist; was closely connected in business with Sir Thomas and Sir John Potter (see *Historical Notes on the Cheetham Hill Discussion Society* (1849-1899), by John Cooper). He had been on the Executive Committee of L.P.S.A. from 1850, and on that of the E.A.S. from 1864 onwards.

[2] A Congregationalist.

[3] A Unitarian (married daughter of Dr Beard, *q.v.* Chapter III., p. 34); was a member of the committee of N.P.S.A. and signed the minute disposing of its balance at the last meeting in 1862.

[4] A member of the Established Church; was a Professor of Law at Owens College; he had been on the committee of the E.A.S.

[5] See Chapter VI., p. 75, and *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, and *Manchester Guardian*, 8th February 1887.

[6] Another churchman, nephew of Mark Philips, M.P. (see pp. 49 and 56).

[7] A Methodist; was one of the earliest members of the Manchester and Salford Committee on Education in 1851. A "John Mayson" appears in connection with the "great meeting" of 1837.

[8] Had been secretary of the E.A.S. since the death of Edward Brotherton.

[9] At the Education Conference in Manchester, 15th January 1868, E. R. Le Mare said : "The present committee had been formed by the Union of the once fiercely opposed advocates of secular and religious education"; it is largely this fact which makes their proposals, the result of long experience, so interesting.

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J. Stores Smith, Rev. F. W. Walker (Church of England), and Oliver Heywood (Church of England); with some who acquired fame later, such as R. D. Darbishire, Professor Jack, Professor Roscoe, Professor A. W. Ward, and J. W. Maclure. In conformity with the resolutions passed at the town's meeting a Bill[1] was introduced on 5th April 1867 by the Rt. Hon. H. A. Bruce, W. E. Forster and Algernon Egerton. It was found to be impracticable to insert (as originally planned) clauses to compel the attendance of children at school in the Bill itself, but it was arranged that Mr Thomas Bazley should propose the introduction of such clauses in committee, and the gentlemen having charge of the Bill consented to adopt them if carried by the House of Commons.

"The Education of the Poor Bill" thus introduced was clearly the old Manchester and Salford Education Committee Bill remodelled, and "prepared in the spirit of the Education Aid Society"[2]; and Mr Egerton was looked upon as

> "the personal representative of the earnest and influential union of friends of education in Manchester which brought forward the earlier Bill. Fourteen years[3] had not passed without removing some who had taken an active part in preparing the Bill of 1851. But several still remained at their post, ready to lend their best help to any honest endeavours to solve the educational problem of the nation. These, joined by other earnest friends of education, put the machinery in motion which brought forward this Bill."[4]

It was indeed a great improvement on its predecessor, and proposed on almost every point a well-considered and comprehensive scheme; but, as has been said, it was permissive. It might be adopted by a vote of the majority of ratepayers, the Committee could build new schools, or aid existing schools at which fees were not more than ninepence a week. Mr Egerton said that if the Bill were passed, it would probably be adopted first in Manchester. The Bill was, however, withdrawn after an adjourned second reading, in view of alterations clearly necessary.

In the autumn of the same year Lord John Russell moved in the House of Lords four resolutions upon National Education, but these were negatived without a division, the Derby-Disraeli Government refusing "to do anything that would disturb the denominational system which they believed to be the keystone of the education of this country." The Manchester Bill Committee convened an Educational Conference to meet at

[1] For text of Bill see *Report of National Conference on Education, held at Manchester Town Hall, January*, 1868.
[2] E. B. Le Mare at Conference, 15th January 1868.
[3] Obviously a slip for sixteen years.
[4] See *Final Report of Commission on Elementary Education*, 1888, pp. 20, 21. Quoted *Special Reports*. Vol. ii., p. 493.

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Manchester on 15th and 16th January 1868; besides a very large number of men (it is noteworthy that all these conferences are composed entirely of men) from Manchester and South Lancashire, many educationalists from other parts were present, including Lord de Grey and Ripon, Bruce, Forster, Goschen, W. B. Hodgson, J. G. Fitch, H.M.I., Auberon Herbert, etc., while letters of approval and regret for their absence were read from Lord Russell, J. S. Mill, A. Egerton, Sir J. P. Kay-Shuttleworth, R. W. Dale, Professor Tyndall, James Bryce, Sir John Pakington, Professor Fawcett, Goldwin-Smith and the Archbishop of York; in all about five hundred attended.

The Conference was asked to accept the general principles of the Committee without discussion, and to concentrate on the following points in view of the new Bill shortly to be introduced :—

1. The relative merits of a permissive Bill, and of one based upon compulsory rating.
2. If the Bill be based upon compulsory rating, would it be desirable to make it applicable to the whole country or applicable only by order in council on the report of Her Majesty's School Inspectors ?
3. Is there anything peculiar to the condition of rural parishes which render it necessary to make special regulations on their behalf, or to exempt them from the operation of the Bill.
4. To what extent is it desirable to modify the Minutes of Council so as to include purely secular schools.

On the first day, under the presidency of the Rt. Hon. H. A. Bruce, the Conference decided almost unanimously in favour of compulsory provision of schools where a necessity for them was shown to exist; the opinion was expressed that during the past year public opinion had progressed so rapidly that a permissive Bill would be almost laughed out of the House. On the second day Mr W. E. Forster gave his presidential address on the possibilities of ensuring the education of all children by an extension of the Factory Acts, which was the means he favoured; many members were for a statutory obligation on all parents to see that their children attended school; while others were in favour of indirect compulsion, despite the objection that children would be penalised for their parents' neglect. Finally a resolution was passed requesting the Education Bill Committee "to prepare such clauses as they may think practicable to enforce the attendance at school of neglected children," and to introduce them into the Bill in the Committee stage.

The Bill as introduced on 17th March by Messrs Bruce, Forster and Egerton was very much the same as that of the previous year, except that one-tenth of the electors in any district might apply for a compulsory order, when the existence of educational destitution had, after formal inquiry, been proved. Almost at the same time (24th March) the Duke of Marlborough,

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on behalf of the Government, introduced an Education Bill in the House of Lords; but the Government shrank from rate aid, believing that it would destroy the private management of denominational schools; and this Bill was shortly afterwards withdrawn.

As it became clear that the end of the Government was drawing near, the Manchester Committee's Bill was withdrawn on 24th June. In the autumn the first General Election on the new electorate took place, and in Mr Gladstone's Government Forster accepted the post of vice-president of the Committee of Privy Council on Education, his friend Lord Ripon being president; and in 1869 there was great public interest in and speculation on the proposals which Forster would bring forward for the Government.

The Manchester Committee might now have formed a national association for the promulgation of their views, but they decided against such a course even when urged to do so by the "National Education League," which was formally inaugurated at Birmingham on 12th October 1869, after some months of preparation. A month later Francis Taylor wrote to *The Daily News* pointing out that there was very little difference between the opinions of the two bodies. On 1st December, speaking at Manchester, George Dixon, M.P., the leader of the League, said "he agreed it was wiser they should not waste their forces but by union increase them." But Taylor replied on 3rd December that the proposed new Bill from Birmingham would have no chance, and that if it was pressed an impression would be created that there was a real difference between the two bodies. Dixon wrote again [1]:

> "To this I reply 'that not only is the Bill of the League a more complete measure than that of the Education Bill Committee, but, also, that the operations of the League extend far beyond the enforcement of certain views upon a Minister.
>
> "'The work we have set our hands to is to arouse the whole country to a sense of the extent and dangers of our present educational destitution; to create and guide a strong public opinion, and thus to make possible a bold and comprehensive measure. However desirous the five members of the present Government, alluded to by Mr Taylor, may be to pass such a measure, they will be utterly unable to do so, unless they are backed by the determined attitude of an active, powerful, and growing party in the country.
>
> "'The Education Bill Committee is composed of gentlemen to whom the friends of education owe much, but their numbers are insignificant, and, as a body, they are scarcely known beyond their own locality. It was my desire that they should extend their organisation, so as to become national instead of local, but I was informed that this could not be done. Had my suggestions been favourably received by the gentlemen to whom they were made, Birmingham would not have originated the League, but would have followed Manchester, which, in my opinion, ought to have headed, and was entitled to lead a national movement.'"

[1] *Manchester Examiner and Times*, 10th December 1869.

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This correspondence is chiefly interesting because it shows that Manchester educationalists had become firmly convinced of the necessity of compromise, and of the impracticability of the scheme of the National Public School Association; and also because Manchester is clearly recognised as the most important centre of educational thought in England.

In order to understand what now happened, the "Preliminary Circular of the League" should be studied:

OBJECT

The establishment of a system which shall secure the education of every child in the country.

MEANS

1. Local authorities shall be compelled by law to see that sufficient school accommodation is provided for every child in their district.
2. The cost of founding and maintaining such schools as may be required shall be provided out of local rates, supplemented by Government grants.
3. All schools aided by local rates shall be under the management of local authorities, and subject to Government inspection.
4. All schools aided by local rates shall be unsectarian.
5. To all schools aided by local rates admission shall be free.
6. School accommodation being provided, the State, or the local authorities, shall have power to compel the attendance of children of suitable age not otherwise receiving education.

This circular was reprinted verbatim by the Manchester and Salford branch of the League, by the local secretary, Rev. S. A. Steinthal, with the addition:

WHAT WE DO NOT WANT

To interfere with any school now existing whether Denominational or Secular.

Thus on four essential points there was agreement—viz. compulsory provision of schools, local rates, local management, and compulsory attendance. But on two essential points there was divergence, the Birmingham League returning to the position of the Lancashire Public School Association in demanding that the schools should be "free" and "unsectarian." It is easy to see that "the spirit of the Education Aid Society" could scarcely engraft these proposals on to itself; while the memory of "the barren strife" from 1847 onwards must have made very reticent even those members who at heart believed in the ideals of the League. The essence of the Education Aid Society and the Manchester Committee's Bill was the adequate extension and development of the existing system to national requirements.

The Birmingham League, on the other hand, aimed at the planning and building up of a new system inspired by the new

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conception of education as a civic duty. It is even now difficult to say whether Manchester was wise with the wisdom and tolerance of old age and experience, or whether in its desire to avoid the bitterness of a religious quarrel that might retard a national system of any sort it failed badly to throw its weight on the side which later developments have shown to be unavoidable.

The terms which the Birmingham League proposed to offer "Existing Schools" are important. Where sufficient accommodation existed already in schools receiving Government grants, the School Board might pay fees up to one-third of the total number of scholars (under safeguards of a conscience clause). Existing schools, allowing free education and a timetable conscience clause, were to receive two-thirds cost from Government. In a scheme based on the premises of the League nothing more generous could well have been devised: nevertheless schools of the old order would clearly have been at a disadvantage immediately, and in course of time would almost inevitably have become both less numerous and less efficient than the Board Schools.

Equally important to understand is the League's attitude to the "religious difficulty":

> "No creed, catechism or tenet peculiar to any sect shall be taught in any National Rate School; but the School Board shall have power to grant the use of the school rooms out of school hours for the giving of religious instruction, provided that no undue preference be given to one or more sects to the exclusion of others. But the rooms shall not be granted for the purposes of religious worship. The School Board shall have the power to permit the reading of the Scriptures in the schools, provided that no child shall be present at such reading if his parents or guardians disapprove; that the time for giving such instruction be immediately before the commencement, or immediately after the ordinary school business, and that it be so fixed as that no child be thereby in effect excluded, directly or indirectly, from the other advantages which the school affords. All books used in the school must have the approval of the School Board." [1]

But this elaborate safety clause by no means solved all religious difficulties, and the experience of the Lancashire Public School Association after 1847 was repeated. Mr Dixon, the chairman of the League, explained [2]: "We do not use the word 'secular'; but we exclude all theological parts of religion; and I am sure that what is left is what even Mr Dowson would call secular." [3]

[1] See "Heads of a Bill" to be introduced into Parliament in the session of 1870. Sect. III.

[2] To Rev. Mr Dowson, a Unitarian of Gee Cross, Hyde, at the public meeting in Birmingham Town Hall, 12th October 1869.

[3] Francis Adams, the secretary of the League, and author of its history, said the programme was "Religion or not, at the option of the ratepayers" (outside specified school hours and by voluntary arrangement of all

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At a later period Mr Dixon claimed—in moving amendment on the second reading of Forster's Bill (14th March 1870)—that the League advocated unsectarian teaching: "The difference between an unsectarian and a secular system appears to be this—that in both you would exclude all Christian dogmas, but in an unsectarian system you would not have to exclude Christian precepts. Such pronouncements could not be expected to satisfy many of the "religious" party.

This is not the place to write even a brief history of the League and its strenuous activities and great influence both before and after the passing of the Act.[1] But it is necessary to know the aims and professions of this body, of which its secretary and historian wrote that it was composed, without exception "of members of the Liberal party; but all shades of religious opinion, except Roman Catholic, were represented."

At the inaugural meeting of the League in Birmingham, 12th October 1869, W. B. Hodgson, LL.D.,[2] said: "The president's reference to the Manchester Association—*i.e.* the Lancashire Public School Association—leads me to say that though death has thinned the ranks of those who composed that Association for obtaining secular rate-paid education, there still remain a large number who, instead of looking upon the League with jealousy, will hail its co-operation with the greatest earnestness and enthusiasm, not even desiring to meet it in friendly rivalry."

Amongst the representatives of Manchester and district at Birmingham were Rev. S. A. Steinthal,[3] Alderman Rumney, and Rev. H. E. Dowson (of Gee Cross).

denominations equally). Mr Jesse Collings, the honorary secretary, said also at Conference (*vide supra*) the League had nothing to do with the Bible; the Bible, like any other book, or any question of discipline or instruction in the school, would be left in the hands of the local authorities. The theory of the British and Foreign School Society was that there should be no religious instruction given in their schools, and that was what the League meant. There should be no creed or catechism of any kind taught in the schools the League was about to found.

[1] The fullest history of the League is given in *The Elementary School Contest*, by Francis Adams. This book is written throughout with very obvious secular and Radical bias, reaching deep-seated bitterness under a sense of political betrayal in all the account of the Bill of 1870, especially towards W. E. Forster. Adams was secretary of the Birmingham League, and the chapters dealing with this part are rather a fierce denunciation of the Liberal Government and of those Liberals who did not support the League, than a history of the movement and contest. The case for Forster is stated with almost equal onesidedness in his *Life* by T. Wemyss Reid, vol. i.

[2] Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 199. Dr Hodgson was now a notable national educationalist and writer, and was an important speaker at the Manchester Conference in January, 1868. (Chapter VI., p. 68, note, and Chapter IX., p. 108.

[3] A Unitarian minister then at Bury, to whom the first existing copied letter of the L.P.S.A. was sent, 1st January 1848. The volume (*P.L.S.A. Records*, vol. i.) contains no less than fourteen other letters to Steinthal. He moved to Cross Street Chapel in 1870.

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On 28th October the first public meeting of the Manchester and Salford branch of the League was held. Alderman Rumney was in the chair, and Steinthal (henceforward secretary) reported that already in response merely to circulars, without canvassing, 252 gentlemen had sent in their names as members.

An executive committee was proposed by Dr Beard, including, besides those mentioned, the names of Alexander Ireland and H. J. Leppoc, early members of the L.P.S.A., and Miss Lydia Becker, presently to be the only woman member on the first School Board for Manchester. Three weeks later lists of local subscribers to the League began to appear in the Press, amongst them Thomas Thomasson (Bolton), Edmund Potter (Carlisle), E. J. Broadfield (Accrington), Wm. Mather (Salford), and W. E. A. Axon (Manchester). On 1st December a meeting[1] was held in the Town Hall which throws further light on the local leaders and supporters. Professor Jack, Rev. A. MacLaren and Rev. W. M'Kerrow wrote regretting their absence. The last-named spoke of the League as "reviving opinions and plans of action which some of us entertained and advocated long ago." Jacob Bright, one of the originators of the N.P.S.A. in 1847, and on the executive of the Manchester Bill Committee since 1867, spoke, expressing his belief that "the scheme which had received most support in Manchester, and especially that scheme which was embodied in Mr Bruce's Bill, was essentially the same as the great scheme propounded at Birmingham." But in spite of Mr Dixon's speech in the same spirit (to which reference has already been made) the Manchester Bill Committee remained a separate organisation. According to Canon Nunn,[2] the League "failed to gain any substantial ground in Manchester in spite of a lavish expenditure of money," and while this must be discounted as an *ex parte* statement, the League did not evoke any notable outburst of support.

Almost contemporaneously in public inauguration, but later in its inception than the Birmingham League arose the National Education Union to counteract its efforts. The First Annual Report contains the following account of its origin:—

"The National Education Union had its origin in a circular and programme drafted by Col. Akroyd, M.P., dated 1st October 1869, pointing out the further legislation necessary to complete the present national system of elementary education, which circular and programme were placed in the hands of the Rev. W. Stanyer, M.A., for the purpose of securing their public acceptance. The advocates of a free compulsory secular system had the advantage of being in the field nine months before the Union, during which period they had been actively

[1] See *Manchester Examiner and Times*, 2nd December 1869.
[2] *Strictures on the Reports on Education in Manchester, etc.* May, 1870. P. 19.

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engaged in arranging a complete organisation by forming branches in most of our large towns. It was therefore indispensably necessary to set on foot active measures for counteracting their efforts."

The Union was inaugurated in the Town Hall, Manchester, 3rd and 4th November 1869, "at a large and influential meeting of the known and long-tried friends of religious education drawn from all parts of the country."

The most important objects of the Union thus formed were [1]:

1. To secure the primary education of every child on principles of morality and religion, by initiating the proceedings for the election of School Boards.
2. To counteract the efforts of the Birmingham League and others advocating secular instruction only and the secularisation of our National Institutions.
3. To watch over and protect the interests of existing and future voluntary National Schools and to thwart the attempts of those who have threatened continued action against the Annual Parliamentary Grant to existing Denominational Schools.
7. To secure the return as Members of Parliament of those who are friends of Religious Education, the maintenance of the Bible, and definite religious teaching.

The Union at once met with very influential and widespread support; Francis Adams' sneer, though unjust, emphasises its predominant characteristics: "While the League could hardly boast a coronet, the Unions had little else to boast of.[2] They were Conservative organisations as much as the League was a Liberal and democratic organisation"—despite the adherence of Mr Cowper Temple and Edward Baines and a few other Liberals.

The most notable men connected with Manchester (besides Rev. Wm. Stanyer) were Hugh Birley, M.P., W. R. Callender, jun., J.P., D.L., and Hon. Algernon Egerton; together with the new Bishop of Manchester (James Fraser) and Rev. J. Nunn, M.A. With the exception of Egerton and Callender no subscriber of one pound or more belonged to the Manchester Education Bill Committee.

Three important features of the National Education Union may therefore be stated:

1. No attempt was made to draft and present to the Nation or to Parliament another Bill.
2. In view of the danger from the activities of the Birmingham League, all the forces of religion and conservatism rallied in defence of the old system.
3. Manchester was rather the headquarters of the Union than either the centre of its power or its originator.

From this it will be seen that the great weight which the

[1] *N.E.U. First Annual Report*, 3rd November 1870.

[2] The 578 vice-presidents of the Union in 1870 included 2 archbishops, 5 dukes, 1 marquess, 18 earls, 21 bishops, 21 barons, and 111 M.P.'s.

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N.E.U. possessed came not from long experience and effort or from boldness and originality of plan, but from its representing an enormous mass of public opinion which it was quite impossible for the Government to pass over or to convert. That even the clergy of the Church of England—so largely represented on the N.E.U.—had in general dropped most of the claims which characterised the proposals of Canon Stowell and the Church Education Society at Manchester twenty years before was largely due to the exertions of the secretary of that society, Canon Richson. In February 1869, as proctor of the Chapter of Manchester in the Convocation of York, he moved for a Committee on Education. It was mainly attributable to him that Convocation for the first time took the details of educational legislation practically in hand, and that the spirit in which it approached the problem was "harmonious with that which actuates enlightened and impartial statesmen." [1] The report was accepted by both Houses of Convocation.

There is yet one other way in which Manchester played a prominent part immediately before the introduction of the Government Bill. In 1869 Mr Melly, M.P. for Stoke, moved for the appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons to inquire into the educational destitution of certain large towns, but withdrew it after Forster and others objected to the probable delay that would ensue. The vice-president, however, promised a Government Inquiry into Elementary Education in Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham; Messrs J. G. Fitch and D. R. Fearon were appointed, and on the presentation of their report [2] the old battle of statistics began again. But it was now impossible for anyone except Lord Robert Montagu and Canon Nunn to deny the educational deficiency of Manchester and the other towns, and the revelations of the report further strengthened the hands of those who favoured a great national scheme of reform.[3]

The Elementary Education Bill as introduced by W. E. Forster on 17th February 1870 was both bold and comprehensive; it was indeed too comprehensive for the League, and too bold for the Union. The vice-president of Committee of

[1] *Manchester Guardian*, 25th February 1870.

[2] Ordered by House of Commons to be printed, 2nd March 1870. "In Manchester—that is, in the Borough of Manchester, not including Salford—there are about 65,000 children who might be at school, and of this number about 16,000 go to no school at all. I must, however, add that Manchester appears to be better than Liverpool in one respect—that there are fewer schools in which education is not worth having." W. E. Forster, in introducing the Bill. See *Debate*, p. 7. See extracts in Appendix XII.

[3] Canon Nunn refused to accept the reports as either accurate or competent, and attempted to ridicule the methods of Fitch and Fearon, and to prove that there were 4075 vacant places in Manchester, taking one-sixth of population as basis for attendance.

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Privy Council on Education had not been in touch with every educational movement in Manchester for twenty-three years, worked at the administration of Education in the West Riding of Yorkshire, been a member of Royal Commission on Middle Class Schools, 1864-1867, and piloted the Endowed Schools Act through the House of Commons, without knowing beforehand that only a middle course could result in a national settlement. Therefore, devising his scheme—and however much he drew on the work of others, the scheme presented to Parliament was his with one important exception [1]—Forster was naturally greatly influenced by the work of the Manchester Education Bill Committee, and his own experience in connection with the Bills of 1867 and 1868.

The Act of 1870, the debates in the House of Commons, and the agitation in the country cannot be treated here. All that need be done is to point out how far the influence of Manchester made itself felt in that time, and how far the ideas which were embodied in the Bill came from Manchester.

First and greatest of all the problems was this—should the voluntary system, usually connected with some religious body, be taken as the basis of elementary education or should a fresh foundation be made for a new structure? The Government decided for the former; and whatever might be said of the political, social and educational disadvantages and even injustices of such a system, it had been shown in Manchester especially to command the support and devotion of both influence and numbers: unless past services and present affections of the "voluntary" party were to be forgotten or counted for nothing, no other step could be taken.

Secondly, what was to be the controlling local body? The whole country was to be divided into districts, for each of which a "School Board" was to be elected, to whom was to be given the power of either providing schools themselves or of assisting the present schools. In his speech on the first reading Forster pointed out that the Government Bill differed from those of the Manchester Committee, which had insisted on rate aid being given: now the proposal was that each School Board might assist all schools on equal terms, or none.

Thirdly, where was the money to come from? The Government proposed one-third from school fees, one-third from rates in case of Board Schools or from voluntary contributions in case of voluntary schools, and one-third from taxes. The L.P.S.A. had declared in 1847 for free schools, and for long it was the belief of most educational reformers that poverty was the chief cause of children's absence from school. But the Educational Aid Society had disproved the belief; and Forster's

[1] See *Life*, vol. i.

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proposal practically followed their plan—fees, but to be paid from other funds than rates or taxes if poverty warranted it. Voluntary schools, having definite religious teaching of the kind approved by the managers, might receive the Government grant, but not a grant from the local rate, for the feeling was still strong that this would in many districts mean levying a rate to the advantage of certain religious parties over others.

Fourthly, should the schools to be founded and carried on by the School Boards be secular or religious? The Bill proposed to allow either, but religious teaching was to be subject to a conscience clause, to apply to religious or secular schools alike. The School Boards were to be managers, and in exactly the same position as that of managers of voluntary schools. Religious teaching was neither prescribed nor forbidden: nor was the Bible.[1]

Fifthly, how should all children be brought to school? Forster announced that "the Government has permitted me to put before the House the principle of direct compulsion." He stated that his own conversion had only taken place during the last few months, and believed that a great number of educationalists had had the same experience. Power was to be given to School Boards to frame bye-laws for compulsory attendance of all children in their district from five to twelve.

Very soon after the introduction of the Bill the Executive Committee of the Manchester Education Bill Committee met to consider their position,[2] and their attitude to the Bill. They at once decided (1) to withdraw their own two Bills [3] and support the second reading of the Government Bill, and then passed three other resolutions of importance:

> 2. That . . . School Boards ought to be called into existence at once in every school district (whereas under the Bill three years might elapse before its provisions came into operation).
>
> 3. That it is undesirable to leave the religious character of rate-provided schools to be determined by School Boards, and the Committee adheres to the principle that "no religious catechism or formularies should be

[1] "If we are to prevent religious teaching altogether, we must say that the Bible shall not be used in schools at all. But would it not be a monstrous thing that the book which, after all, is the foundation of the religion we possess, should be the only book that was not allowed to be used in our schools? But then it may be said that we ought to have no dogmatic teaching. But how are we to prevent it? Are we to step in and say that the Bible may be read but may not be explained? Are we to pick out Bible lessons with the greatest care in order that nothing of a doctrinal character may be taught to the children (in that the central government would probably fail)." W. E. Forster. First reading of the Bill.

[2] See *Manchester Guardian*, 5th March 1870. The Committee met on 3rd March. Its report refers to "the last meeting of the General Committee."

[3] In addition to the Bill of 1868 the Manchester Education Bill Committee had also prepared a separate very short Bill entitled "Compulsory Education Bill, 1870." The amendments to Forster's Bill moved by Sir Thos. Bazley were identical in wording with the clauses of this Bill.

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used in such schools, nor should anything in support of, or in opposition to, the peculiar tenets of any religious sect be taught therein, provided that this shall not be held to exclude the reading of the Holy Scriptures in such school."

4. That the permissive power given to School Boards to compel attendance at school is unsatisfactory, and might have the effect of constituting non-attendance a crime in one district and not in others. . . . Compulsory power should therefore be positive and of universal application and clearly defined in the Bill.

In the Parliamentary debates on the Bill the fight centred around the questions at issue in the third and fourth of these resolutions. On the motion for the second reading of the Bill (14th March) Mr Dixon moved, on behalf of the League, an amendment:

"That this House is of opinion that no measure for the elementary education of the people will afford a satisfactory or permanent settlement which leaves the question of religious instruction in schools supported by public funds and rates to be determined by local authorities."

In the great debate which followed Mr Forster said he was surprised to notice an amendment (Resolution 3 above) in the name of Mr Jacob Bright on behalf of the Manchester Committee, as he "had long discussed the matter with them" both in 1867 and 1868, and "last year I had the opportunity of consulting the Committee again and ascertained that they still held the same view."[1] Speaking on the third night of the debate, Mr Jacob Bright explained that the Bills of 1867 and 1868 were confined to giving aid to existing schools. The Manchester Bill would have been again introduced this session had it not been for the Government Bill; but it would not have contained a clause giving unlimited power to a School Board to determine the religious teaching. The Manchester Committee had changed their views because they recognised the change which had taken place in the opinion of this country.[2]

Although Mr Dixon's amendment was withdrawn, it was so clear that great dissatisfaction existed with the provisions of the Bill on the "religious difficulty" that Mr Gladstone promised reconsideration by the Government and forecasted alterations in Committee.

When the Committee stage was reached Mr Gladstone announced changes of the utmost importance. One of these was substantially in line with the desire of the Manchester Bill Committee for a national decision of the character of the religious teaching in Board Schools, and there is no great difference between the wording of the amendment reported on 3rd March[3] and that adopted by the Government, known as

[1] *Debate*, p. 44. A deputation had certainly waited on him before the meeting on 3rd March, at which the above resolutions were reported.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 120.
[3] *Vide supra*, Resolution 3.

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the Cowper-Temple Clause: "No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school." (Elementary Education Act, 1870, section 14 (2).)

But the greatest change, the origin of which is obscure, was that the "Government severed altogether the tie between the local board and the voluntary schools," and to compensate for the loss of rate aid a larger grant was made from the State. The idea did not come from Manchester; no one had proposed it on the platforms of the Union; Forster did not suggest it in his memoranda to the Cabinet; and we need not now dwell upon it except to point out that in this very important respect, really fundamental, the experience and work of twenty years were thrown aside by a Prime Minister who had given but scanty attention to the Bill and its progress and, one might reasonably say, to the whole education question.

Throughout the Parliamentary debate on this measure references were repeatedly made from all quarters of the House both to the condition of Manchester in regard to educational needs and to the opinions of men who had taken prominent parts in the various movements whose history we have traced. Particularly is this so with Cobden,[1] and Dr Watts,[2] and, while direct proof is almost impossible to obtain, it seems probable that the refusal of the latter to go over to the League counted heavily against the secular party.

However that may be, an Education Act was passed providing all the factors for which Manchester men had chiefly contended—viz. a system by which schools could be provided over the whole country, by a local rate aided by Government grants, under local management but under State guidance and general regulation; by which all children could be brought to school without the excuse of either poverty or violation of conscience; and which was calculated to enlist in its support all parties equally, despite the grave dissatisfaction of most of the Radical politicians.

The Manchester area was very largely responsible for the new England of the Industrial Revolution, and Manchester men

[1] See *Debate*, pp. 156, 170, 209.

[2] "... the name of one who had done much for the cause of education. Dr John Watts, of Manchester, told him that he had held 150 large public meetings in different towns and counties in England, and at every one of these he had proposed and carried a vote in favour of secular education; yet now, after twenty years' labour, he had come to the conclusion that secular education was opposed to the most deeply rooted convictions of his countrymen, and he was therefore ready to co-operate with anyone who would bring forward a measure of religious education. The gentleman had a large share in the Bill which he (Mr Bruce) had the honour of introducing into the House, and which enacted that assistance should be given to every school, whether it were Church of England, Roman Catholic, Wesleyan, or British and Foreign." Mr H. A. Bruce. See *Debate*, p. 244.

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felt their responsibility to make that new England good. In the midst of all political and commercial and military distractions there were always those who held that Education was, if less obvious and more thorny, the most important subject of all. They had felt their way for seventy years, exploring every hopeful means of guaranteeing the welfare of the future generations. They had initiated legislation in Parliament, and supported others in their Parliamentary activities; they had educated public opinion locally and nationally, and carried out many pieces of practical work; they had worked out in every detail theories and principles of the greatest importance, and in doing so had revealed the complexity and deep-rooted nature of England's social and religious life. Much would have been gained in efficiency had the movements initiated by the National Public School Association in 1850 or the Education League in 1870 been carried out as their promoters wished, and one thinks sadly of the loss of opportunity for many thousands of children every year. On the other hand, the three greatest workers for National Elementary Education that Manchester produced—Kay-Shuttleworth, Cobden and Watts—equally believed that the true English system was a religious system worked through the Churches, but supplemented. The price of the compromise was heavy; but would the price of secular victory have been better worth paying, with the resultant bitterness as well as the divorce of school from religious bodies? That is a great question which the historians of to-day, with the State-educated nations of the world at war, cannot decide. He would fain hope that England's proud boast that she is fighting (albeit side by side with centralised and secular France) for right and liberty is but another aspect of that refusal at once either to allow the State to dictate without local control, or to exclude religious teaching from elementary schools.

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APPENDIX I

THE "OLD MANCHESTER POOR HOUSE ACT," 1784

Geo. III. Cap. 81. Sec. 40.

AND be it further enacted, That all and every the child and children found wandering and begging within the Township of Manchester, and who shall, from examination, appear to stand in need of care and protection, the child and children deserted by his, her, or their parent or parents, and the child or children of all and every the poor person or persons leading idle and dissolute lives, and setting an example of vice and idleness, shall and may be sent by order of two or more justices of the peace for the said division to the poor house, to be provided in pursuance of this act, and there to be detained, educated, employed and brought up in habits of religion and industry, until he, she or they shall attain the age or ages of seventeen years, if male, or of fifteen years, if female, unless sooner discharged by an order of two justices of the peace, acting for the said division of Manchester, who are hereby authorised and empowered to enquire into and determine upon the detainer or discharge of such child or children, or unless such child or children shall be otherwise discharged by due course of law.

Quoted by J. A. Bremner in *Principle of Compulsion in Primary Education*, p. 25.

APPENDIX II

HEADS OF RESOLUTIONS FOR THE CONSIDERATION OF THE BOARD OF HEALTH. BY DR PERCIVAL

January 25, 1796

IT has already been stated, that the objects of the present institution are—to prevent the generation of diseases, to obviate the spreading of them by contagion, and to shorten the duration of those which exist, by affording the necessary aids and comforts to the sick. In the prosecution of this interesting undertaking, the board have had their attention particularly directed to the large cotton-factories, established in the town and neighbourhood of Manchester. And they feel it a duty incumbent on them to lay before the public the result of their inquiries.

I. It appears that the children and others, who work in the large cotton-factories are peculiarly disposed to be affected by the contagion of fever; and that when such infection is received, it is rapidly propagated, not only amongst those who are crowded together in the same apartments, but in the families and the neighbourhoods to which they belong.

II. The large factories are generally injurious to the constitutions of those employed in them, even where no particular diseases prevail, from the close confinement which is enjoined, from the debilitating effects of hot or impure air; and from the want of

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active exercises, which nature points out as essential in childhood and youth, to invigorate the system, and to fit our species for the employments and for the duties of manhood.

III. The untimely labour of the night, and the protracted labour of the day, with respect to *children*, not only tends to diminish future expectations as to the general sum of life and industry, by impairing the strength, and destroying the vital stamina, of the rising generation, but it too often gives encouragement to idleness, extravagance, and profligacy, in the parents, who contrary to the order of nature, subsist by the oppression of their offspring.

IV. It appears that the children employed in the factories are generally debarred from all opportunities of education, and from moral or religious instruction.

V. From the excellent regulations, which subsist in several cotton factories, it appears that many of these evils may, in a considerable degree, be obviated. We are therefore warranted by experience, and are assured we shall have the support of the liberal proprietors of these factories, in proposing an application for parliamentary aid, (if other methods appear not likely to effect the purpose) to establish a general system of laws for the wise, humane, and *equal* government of all such works:

APPENDIX III

"THE HEALTH AND MORALS OF APPRENTICES ACT," 1802

1. WHEREAS it hath of late become a Practice in Cotton and Woollen Mills, and in Cotton and Woollen Factories, to employ a great Number of Male and Female Apprentices, and other Persons, in the same Building; in consequence of which, certain Regulations are become necessary to preserve the Health and Morals of such Apprentices.

2. Be it therefore Enacted by the KING'S Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That from and after the Second Day of December One Thousand Eight Hundred and Two, all such Mills and Factories within Great Britain and Ireland, wherein Three or more Apprentices shall at any Time be employed, shall be subject to the several Rules and Regulations contained in this Act; and the Master or Mistress of every such Mill or Factory, is hereby strictly enjoined and required to pay due Attention to and act in strict conformity to the said Rules and Regulations.

3. And be it Enacted, That all and every the Rooms and Apartments in or belonging to any such Mill or Factory shall, Once at least during the Month of January in every Year, be well and sufficiently washed with Quick Lime and Water over every Part of the Walls and Ceiling thereof; and that due Care and Attention shall be paid by the Master or Mistress of such Apprentices, to provide a sufficient Number of Windows and Openings in such Rooms or Apartments, to insure a proper Supply of fresh Air in and through the same.

And be it further Enacted, That every such Master or Mistress

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shall constantly supply every Apprentice, during the Term of his or her Apprenticeship, with Two whole and complete Suits of Clothing, with suitable Linen, Stockings, Hats and Shoes; One new complete Suit being delivered to such Apprentice Once at least every Year.

4. And be it further Enacted, That no Apprentice that now is or hereafter shall be bound to any such Master or Mistress, shall (except in the cases hereinafter mentioned) be compelled or obliged to work for more than Twelve Hours in any One Day (reckoning from Six of the Clock in the Morning to Nine of the Clock at Night) exclusive of the Time that may be occupied by such Apprentice in eating the necessary Meals: Provided always, That no such Master or Mistress shall be liable to any Penalty in case the Period for Work hereinbefore limited shall at any Time be exceeded by Half an Hour, and no more.

5. Provided always, and be it further Enacted, That where it shall be necessary, in consequence of any Public Holidays, or of unavoidable Stoppage of Work in any such Mills or Factories, that any such Apprentice should be employed for any longer Period of Time than hereinbefore limited; in all such cases the Master or Mistress may and are hereby authorised to employ such Apprentice for any Excess of Time in any One Day, (reckoning as aforesaid) not exceeding Two Hours, until such Apprentice shall have worked for Half the Period of Time that shall have been or may be lost to such Master or Mistress, by such Holidays or Stoppage of Work as aforesaid; but no Apprentice shall in any Case be compelled to work for more than Fourteen Hours in any One such Day. [*n.b. this legalises* 14½ *hrs. actual work sometimes.*]

Provided also, That no Apprentice shall be employed or compelled to work upon any Occasion whatever, between the Hours of Nine of the Clock at Night and Six of the Clock in the Morning.

6. And be it further Enacted, That every such Apprentice shall be instructed, in some Part of every working Day, in the usual Hours of Work, in Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic, or either of them, according to the age and abilities of such Apprentice, by some discreet and proper Person, to be provided and paid by the Master or Mistress of such Apprentice, in some Room or Place in such Mill or Factory to be set apart for that Purpose; and that the Time hereby directed to be allotted for such Instruction as aforesaid, shall be deemed and taken on all Occasions as Part of the respective Periods limited by this Act during which any such Apprentice shall be employed or compelled to work.

7. And be it further Enacted, That the Room or Apartment in which any Male Apprentice shall sleep, shall be entirely separate and distinct from the Room or Apartment in which any Female Apprentice shall sleep; and that not more than two Apprentices shall in any Case sleep in the same Bed.

8. And be it further Enacted, That every Apprentice shall Once in every Week be instructed and examined in the Principles of the Christian Religion, by some proper Person to be provided and paid by the Master or Mistress of such Apprentice; and in case the Parents of such Apprentice shall be Members of the Church of England, then such Apprentice shall be taken, Once at least in every Year during the Term of his or her Apprenticeship, to be examined by the Rector, Vicar, or Curate of the Parish in which such Mill or Factory shall be situate; and shall also after such Apprentice shall have attained the age of Fourteen Years, and before attaining the age of Eighteen Years, be brought or sent to the Bishop of the Diocese

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to be confirmed, in case any Confirmation shall during such Period take place in or for the said Parish; and such Master or Mistress shall send all his or her Apprentices under the Care of some proper Person, Once in a Month at least, to attend during Divine Service in the Church of the Parish or Place in which the Mill or Factory
9. shall be situated, or in some other convenient Church or Chapel where Service shall be performed according to the Rites of the Church of England, or in some licensed Place of Divine worship; and in case the Apprentices of such Master or Mistress cannot conveniently attend such Church or Chapel, the Master or Mistress, either by themselves or some proper Person, shall cause Divine Service to be performed in some convenient Room or Place in or adjoining to the Mill or Factory, Once at least every Sunday that such Apprentices shall not be able to attend Divine Service at such Church or Chapel, and such Master or Mistress is hereby strictly enjoined and required to take due Care that all his or her Apprentices regularly attend Divine Service, according to the directions of this Act.

Summary of Clauses 10, 11, 12.—Justices of Peace for every County, Riding, Division or Place in which factory is situate shall at Annual Midsummer Sessions appoint two disinterested persons to be visitors of Mills and Factories—one a J.P. and one a clergyman. Visitors shall have power to inspect mills and factories during any time of the day. Visitors shall report to next Quarter Sessions of the Peace the condition of the mills and factories and the apprentices within them and whether Act is being obeyed. Any person molesting visitors in performance of their duties shall pay a sum of not less than £5 or more than £10. The master or mistress of the mill or factory must have written or printed copies of the Act hung up in two or more conspicuous places.

Summary of 13.—Master or mistress of mill or factory offending against provisions of Act shall for every offence pay a fine of not more than £5 or less than £2—one half to be paid to informer and the other to Overseers of Poor of Parish in which offence is committed. All information of offences against Act must be made within one calendar month after offence has been committed.

14-16 (*omitted all except last clause*).—And be it Enacted, That this Act shall be deemed and taken to be a Public Act, and shall be judicially taken Notice thereof as such by all Judges, Justices, and others, without specially pleading the same.

APPENDIX IV

EXTRACT FROM LETTER OF DAVID DALE OF NEW LANARK TO T. B. BAYLEY, 1796

"I AM quite satisfied in my own mind, that cotton mills, under proper management, are as favourable to health as any other employment. Indeed it is observed by the parents of the children who work at my mills for wages, and are fed and lodged by their parents in their own houses, that the part of their family which works at the mills, is more healthy than the part that is at home, and with regard to their morals, I have no hesitation in saying, that they are, at least, as correct as will be found among an equal number in any manufacturing business; and

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when it is considered, that the greater part of the children who are in the boarding-house, consists of destitute orphans, children abandoned by their parents, some of whose parents are transported as felons, many who know not who were their parents, and who brought with them a weakly constitution, transmitted to them by diseased parents, it gives me pleasure to say, that by proper management, and attention, much *good*, instead of *evil*, may be done at cotton-mills. For I am warranted in affirming, that many now have stout, healthy bodies, and are of decent behaviour, who in all probability would have been languishing with disease, and pests to society had they not been employed at Lanark cotton-mills."

Dr Dale enclosed answers to the following questions:—

1. The dimensions of spinning rooms, especially the height?
2. Number of spindles in a room?
3. Modes of ventilation and purification?
4. Number of boys and girls in one room?
5. Hours of labour, rest and for meals?
6. Rules of cleanliness and health?
7. Time and manner of teaching the children to read, and of religious instruction?
8. Mode, and time of hiring?
9. When the mills are supplied with labourers?
10. Means employed to prevent, or to correct, the typhus fever?
11. Mode of lodging and feeding the children?
12. What they are fit for when too big for the spindles?
13. Are they commonly strong for labour, or otherwise?

ANSWERS

1. 120 to 150 ft long. 20-30 wide. 9 ft clear ht.
2. 2000 each.
3. Windows open at top on both sides: ventilation holes. Walls and ceilings washed at least once a year with newly slacked lime: weekly washings of machinery.
4. 50-75.
5. 11½ hrs daily. 6 A.M.-7 P.M., with intervals, 9-9.30 brkfst., 2-3 dinner.
6. See 3.
7. Seven is the hour for supper; in half an hour after at most, and as much sooner as possible, the teaching commences, and continues till 9 o.c. The schools at present are attended by 507 scholars, in instructing whom are 16 teachers employed; 13 in teaching to read, two to write, and one to figure, besides a person who teaches sewing, and another who occasionally teaches church music. The mode of teaching is as follows: The course is divided into eight classes, according to the progress of the scholars; to each of these classes one or more teachers are assigned, as the numbers in that stage of advancement may require. To the teachers is specified in writing how far they are respectively to carry forward their scholars; which so soon as they have accomplished, the scholars are transferred to the next higher class, and the teacher receives a small premium for every-one so qualified.

. . . . . .

The 8th or highest class (containing 80 scholars, *i.e.* more than any class except 2nd = 82) are all good readers, and employ the half of their time each night in writing: such as stand in no further

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need of instructions in reading, of whom there are about 12 boys and 12 girls, who employ the remainder of their time, after writing, in learning arithmetic and sewing, except an occasional night appointed for reviving their reading.

. . . . . .

Small rewards for top children. Emulation fostered. "On Sundays, that part of the children who cannot go to Church from want of accommodation (it only held 150 in rotation) are kept busy at school, and in the evenings after public worship, the usual teachers spend regularly three hours in giving religious instruction, by causing the Scriptures to be read, catechising, etc. Besides these night schools, there are two day schools for children too young for work, which, as well as the night ones (except the providing their own book) are entirely free of expence to the scholars.

8. If with parents and for weekly wage, 4 yrs. If from workhouse at Edinburgh, or without friends, and who in lieu of wages are maintained and educated are bound 4, 5, 6, or 7 yrs. according to their age, or generally until they have completed their 15th year.
9. From the natives, or neighbg parishes, etc., and lastly from Edinb. and Glasgow, by the number of destitute children these places constantly afford.
10. Isolation for fever. No typhus for years.

Statistics of Deaths of Ch. in Bdg-Houses

In 1792	there were	270	boarders,	and in	that year	2 deaths.
,, 1793	,,	288	,,	,,	1	,,
,, 1794	,,	306	,,	,,	0	,,
,, 1795	,,	384	,,	,,	5	,,
		1248			8	

11. Most in county or Lanark, 1 m. away. Principal part of their food, as is usual in this county, consists of Oatmeal.

All in one house. 6 sleeping apartments for 396 b. and g. Three children to each bed.

Limewashed with hot lime twice a year, and floors washed with scalding water once a week. The children sleep in wooden-bottomed beds, on bed ticks filled with straw, which is in genl changed once a month ; sheet, one or two pairs of blankets and bedcover, as season requires.

"Windows thrown open every morning, in which state they remain during the day."

The upper body clothing in use in summer, both for boys and girls, is entirely of cotton, which as they have spare suits to change with, are washed once a fortnight. In winter, the boys are dressed in woollen cloth ; and they as well as the girls, have complete dress suits for Sunday. Their linens are changed once a week. For a few months in summer, both boys and girls go without shoes and stockings. The provisions are dressed in cast iron boilers, and consist of oatmeal porridge for breakfast and supper, and milk with them in its season. In winter, its substitute is a composition of molasses fermented with some new beer, which is called swats. For dinner the whole of them have every day, in all seasons, barley broth made from fresh beef ; the beef itself is divided amongst one half of the children in quantities of about 7 oz. English to each ; the other half are

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served with cheese in quantities of about 5 oz. English to each; so that they have alternately beef and cheese for dinner, excepting now and then a dinner of herrings in winter, and fresh butter in summer. To the beef and cheese is added a plentiful allowance of potatoes or barley bread, of which last they have also an allowance every morning before going to work.

12 and 13. Workers when too big for spinning are as stout and robust as others.

APPENDIX V (A)

FROM "REPORT OF THE MINUTES OF EVIDENCE TAKEN BEFORE THE SELECT COMMITTEE ON THE STATE OF THE CHILDREN EMPLOYED IN THE MANUFACTORIES OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, 25 APRIL–18 JUNE, 1816." P. 97.

ACCOUNT of the several Institutions of SUNDAY SCHOOLS in the Towns of Manchester and Salford (submitted to the Committee by George Gould, Mancr.):

Name of Body	Yearly Income, say rather the last year's Income	No. of Scholars as per the Books, or the last Report, or by Computation	Number actually present when last visited	No. employed in Cotton-Spinning Factories of those present when last visited	
	£ s. d.				
The Estab[d] Ch.	1319 14 1	7,602	4,560	1201	
Socy. of Methodists for ch. of all denomns.	739 18 10	6,000	4,427	1465	
Grosven. St Chapel, Rev. — Roby	171 15 10	1,222	862	285	About 140 sch. attend the sch. on Saty. evenings for Instruction
	Note.—This	Institution is	£793, 6s. 6d.	in debt	
Mosley St Chapel, Rev. — Bradley	45 0 0	300	200	42	
Unitarian Sch.	...	260	190	47	30 attend Sat. evening sch.
Roman Caths.	124 17 0	674	344	138	
Baptists, York St	...	...	284	86	
D[r] Jack's Lloyd St Scotch Kirk	25 0 0	150	58	8	Formerly Sat. evening sch.
Welsh Chapel, in Oak St	2 0 0	100	88	29	
Swedenborgians in Salford	...	60	50	16	
		16,368	11,063	3317	

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APPENDIX V (B)

APPENDIX B to "FACTS AND CONSIDERATIONS ON THE MANCHESTER AND SALFORD EDUCATION BILL." 1851.

RETURN (1850) OF THE CHURCH AND DENOMINATIONAL (SUNDAY) SCHOOLS IN MANCHESTER, showing the date of their establishment, and the premises in which they are held. h=school held in hired room. c=under place of worship. b=buildings erected or adapted for the purpose.

Name and Denomination	Date when first opened	Date of Day Sch. (if any) connected with S. S.
Manchester—		
Church, St Mary's .	1783h	...
,, St John's .	1784h 1828b	1839
,, St Thomas's, Ardwick	1784 ——b	1826
Unitarian, Lower Mosley St	1784c 1836b	1836
Wesleyan, London Rd	1785h ——b	...
,, Chancery Lane	1786h	...
Church, Cathedral .	1789h 1835b	1840
,, St Peter's .	1796h	...
New Jerusalem, Peter St	1798h ——b	...
Indept. Roby Schools .	1799h 1845b	1840
Church, St Paul's, Turner St	1800h	...
Wesleyan, Gt. Bridgwater St	1800h	...
,, Elm St .	1800h 1816b	1832
,, Lever St .	1800h ——b	...
Church, St Mark's, Cheetham	1800b	1800
,, St Paul's, Bennet St	1801h 1818b	date uncertain
,, All Saints, Newton	1812	1800
Salford—		
Church, Trinity . .	1790h	
Wesleyan, Gravel Lane .	1790-1800h 1817c	
Independent, Windsor .	1802c ——b	

After these, up to and including 1830, the following were added :—

Denom.	S.S.	Day
Church	8	1
Indept.	5	1
Bib. Chris.	2	1
Baptist	2	0
New Com.	1	0
Presbytn	1	0
Wesleyan	12	1
R. C.	3	2
Others	4	1
	38	7

11 other S.S. before 1830. 3 day sch.

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APPENDIX V (c)

FROM *MANCHESTER GUARDIAN*, MAY 5 1821 (*1st Issue*)

A REPORT TO EDITOR, *signed* N. H.

"SUCH a document seems to be called for by the measures with which Mr Brougham is threatening the country, and which appear to me to be a practical consequence of the ignorance which exists on this subject."

N. H. denies that Brougham's inquiry is correct.

"In (this)[1] district, I find the statements are attributed to four respectable Clergymen (of Ch. of E.), who are I believe as competent as any of their brethren for the performance of such a task (*i.e.* making returns of 'exact number of schools actually existing and the number of children actually taught in each')."

Says they were only obliged to communicate what they knew.

"The fact is the number of the Church Sunday Schools alone is 19, and of the Dissenters 46; making altogether 65: affording gratuitous instruction to 23,000 children." Adding Day Schs. concludes "no necessity for any legislative proceeding whatever."

Believes same of other manufacturing districts.

Mr Brougham's Bill is "obnoxious to the Liberal Spirit of the times."

Appeals to Dissenters to protect their rights.

DAY SCHOOLS

ESTABLISHED CHURCH

	Total	*Ann. Ex.*	
Grammar	155 boys	£1800	Endowed
Blue Coat	80 boys	2000	
Green Coat	50 boys	200	
Collegiate Church	50 girls	40	
Strangeways	10 boys	100	
St Mary's	12 boys, 12 girls	40	
St John's	9 boys	40	
St Paul's	20 boys		
Ladies' Jubilee	30 girls	250	Taught, clothed and boarded; voluntary subs.
Back King St	21 boys	40	One benevolent indiv.
National Sch.—			
Granby Row	194 boys, 119 girls	600	Voly. subs. and collections at churches
Bolton St, Salf.	300 boys, 170 girls		
	851 boys, 381 girls	£5110	
	Total, 1232		

[1] District of this N. H. is only Manchester, Ardwick and Salford.

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DAY SCHOOLS—*continued*

OTHERS

Dissenters—	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Total*	*Ann. Ex.*	
Lancasterian Sch., Marshall St	692	225	917	£400	Voly. Subs.
Unitarian, Mosley St	...	35	35	50	
Catholic	198	121	319	104	
	890	381	1271	554	

SUNDAY SCHOOLS

ESTABLISHED CHURCH

	Boys	*Girls*	*Total*	*Ann. Ex.*
Collegiate Church, Shude Hill	201	205	406	
St Ann's, Back King St	50	56	106	
St Mary's, Back South Parade	130	110	240	
St Paul's, Green St	170	183	353	
— Turner St	68	71	139	
— Jersey St	314	281	595	
St George's, St George's St	141	112	253	
St John's, St John's St	118	163	281	
St James', St James' St	102	198	300	
St Michael's, Miller St	234	352	586	
St Peter's, Jackson's Row	—	120	120	
— Alport Town	90	—	90	
St Clement's and St Luke's, Bennet St	835	1071	1906	Perhaps largest school in kingdom. Cost £2000
St Stephen's, Bloom St	181	297	478	
— Oldfield Rd	139	204	343	
Trinity, King's Head Yard	220	300	520	£1023
Hulme, Duke St	185	189	374	
All Saints', Oxford Rd	196	191	387	30
Ardwick	60	110	170	25
	3434	4213	7647	£1078

DISSENTERS

For All Denominations—	*Boys*	*Girls*	*Total*	
Lever St	429	522	951	
London Rd	607	601	1208	
Osmond St	220	248	468	
Tib St	355	384	739	
Long Millgate	335	319	654	
Bridgwater St	362	320	682	
Gravel Lane	450	518	968	£923
Elm St	223	324	537	
New Islington	128	113	241	
David St	257	209	466	
Hulme	160	143	303	
Chancery Lane	219	204	423	40
Brunswick (Pendleton)	202	220	422	37
Carried forward	3947	4115	8,062	

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Brought forward	3947	4115	8,062	£1000	
New Connexion Methodists—					
Oldham St	160	120	280	28	
Pendleton	210	160	370	50	
Hope Town	100	103	203	30	
Independent Methodists—					
Edward St	172	184	356	25	40 boys and 40 girls taught writing
Cooke St	45	50	95		
Welsh Methodists—					
Plt. St	30	36	66	4	
Welsh Independents—					
Oak St	100	100	200	8	
James St	30	36	66	5	Adults
Independents—					
Grosvenor St	507	473	980	80	
Lloyd St	57	68	125	8	
Mosley St	159	116	275	80	
Mather St	130	120	250		
Blakeley St	100	120	220	16	
Jackson's Lane	160	140	300	15	
Chapel St	173	182	355	60	
Hope St	74	79	153		
Windsor	120	100	220	20	
Baptists—					
York St	230	180	410	45	
Fleet St	60	40	100	7	
New Jerusalem—					
Peter St	75	60	135	30	
Bolton St, Salford	35	45	80	15	Taught Writing
King St ,,	60	50	110	10	
Hulme	90	60	150	25	
Union Schools—					
George Leigh St	200	180	380	40	do.
Unitarian—					
Mosley St	230	50	280	80	do. and a/cs
Greengate, Salford	38	12	50	10[1]	
Catholics have eight schools	700	500	1,200	110	
	7983	7478	15,461	£1801	

Then follows Table :—

	DAY SCHOOLS[2]					S.S.				
	Schools	*B.*	*G.*	*Tot.*	*Exp.*	*Schs.*	*B.*	*G.*	*Tot.*	*Exp.*
Estab.	12	851	381	1232	5110	19	3434	4213	7647	1078
Diss. and R. C.	3	890	381	1271	554	46	7983	7478	15,461	1801
	15	1720	792	2503	5664	65	11,417	11,691	23,108	2879

Total scholars in Day and Sunday Schools	25,701
Deduct ⅓ of Day Sch., supposed to attend S.S.	834
Total Gratuitously Educated	24,867

[1] Taught writing and accounts. Expenses defrayed by payments from writing class of ½d. for every two copies, and fines from the teachers for non-attendance.

[2] Some obvious errors have been corrected here.

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Also recently established school at Union Place, Salford, already 120 scholars.

At the S.S. reading only is taught, except in the instances noticed in the remarks. But it must be observed that nearly all the schoolrooms are open two or three evenings in the week, and writing and arithmetic then taught to the Sunday scholars, who pay a small sum to defray the expense.

APPENDIX VI

REPORT OF THE STATISTICAL SOCIETY (MANCHESTER). 1834.

THE following remarks on schools are lengthy summaries or quotations from the report.

DAME SCHOOLS.

They teach reading only, together with a little sewing.

These are the most numerous class of schools, and they are generally in the most deplorable condition. The greater part of them are kept by females, but some by old men, whose only qualifications for this employment seems to be their unfitness for every other.

Other occupations render any regular instruction among their scholars absolutely impossible. Indeed, neither parents nor teachers seem to consider this as the principal object.

These schools were generally found in very dirty, unwholesome rooms —frequently in close, damp cellars, or old dilapidated garrets. In one of these schools eleven children were found, in a small room, in which one of the children of the mistress was lying in bed ill of the measles. Another child had died in the same room, of the same complaint, a few days before; and no less than 30 of the usual scholars were then confined at home with the same disease.

In by far the greater number of these schools there were only two or three books among the whole number of scholars. In others there was not one.

The yearly receipts of each mistress average about £17, 16s. (2d. to 7d. a week is paid by the scholars; average 4d.).

Number of children in Dames' Schools: 4722.

"In reckoning the number of those to be considered as partaking of the advantages of useful education, *these children must be left almost entirely out of account.*"

COMMON DAY SCHOOLS.

These schools seem to be in rather better condition than those last mentioned, but are still very little fitted to give a really useful education to the children of the lower classes. The masters are generally in no way qualified for their occupation. The charge is from 3d. to 1s. 6d. a week; usually 6d. or 9d.; the masters earn 16s. or 17s.[1] a week.

Boys and girls are seldom entirely divided.

In the great majority of schools there seems to be complete want of order and system. (Many reasons) render them inefficient for any purposes of real education.

[1] In 1844 John Bright's firm paid its *men* 16s. per week. G. M. Trevelyan. *John Bright*. P. 156.

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Girls' schools have a better appearance of order, punctuality and cleanliness.

Religious instruction is seldom attended to beyond the rehearsal of a catechism; and moral education, real education of the mind and improvement of character are totally neglected. "Morals," said one master, in answer to an inquiry as to whether he taught them, "*Morals! How am I to teach morals to the like of these?*"

SUPERIOR PRIVATE SCHOOLS.

The Committee made no inquiry except as to number of scholars, which were 2934.

ENDOWED SCHOOLS, ETC. (Charity Schools, etc.)

Free Grammar School.

The following are classed as "very effective":—

Day Schools attached to Mechanics Institute and the Scotch Church ( ) conducted on the plan of the Edinburgh Sessional School, and that attached to New Jerusalem Church.

One Lancasterian school with 1040 children.

These classes of schools are generally well conducted, but capable of much improvement.

"In the Lancasterian school and in others where a very large number of scholars are placed under the direction of one master the plan of instruction is too mechanical . . . the general cultivation of their mental powers is often totally neglected."

INFANT SCHOOLS.

Only five. One a private establishment. It is much to be regretted their number is so small. Their design and management are excellent, and their general utility very great.

EVENING SCHOOLS.

86 in Boroughs, exclusive of those in connection with Sunday Schools.

Generally more effective than other schools: only attended by those who wish to learn. The majority of scholars are aged 14 to 18. These schools are kept by masters of day schools.

SUNDAY SCHOOLS.

There are 86 Sunday schools, containing 33,196 scholars. In most of these instruction is confined to religion and reading, 10 only teaching writing on the Sunday, and 3 arithmetic. 39 have Evening Schools attached, in 5 of which writing is taught and in 34 writing and arithmetic.

Though from the short time necessarily devoted in these schools to the instruction of the children little positive knowledge, not immediately religious, can be communicated, they must, nevertheless, be regarded as holding a very important place among the existing means of education for the lower classes of the people. . . . They must and do secure for those who frequent them some of the happiest and the most valuable results of education.

MECHANICS INSTITUTIONS

"Your committee are of opinion, that few things would tend more to diffuse the advantages of education among the people than the extension of similar institutions to other parts of the town, and to other towns throughout the country, more especially if the terms required, the

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subjects taught, and still more the manner of teaching them were adapted to interest, attract and instruct the lower orders—the really labouring classes of the community. At present, the plan of such institns and the whole course of instruction is adapted to, and chiefly attended by a class considerably superior to the really operating class."

APPENDIX

Schools supported wholly or in part by endowt., pub. subscription or by individuals, or attached to a place of worship, or a public institn. The dates are those of foundation.

1. **The Manchester Free Grammar School** (1515). (Boys) 200
2. **Chetham's Hospital** (1649). „ 80
3 and 4. **Poor House Schools.**
Supported by poor-rate
48 boys (½ morng, ½ aftn) } pauper
5 boys and 25 girls } teachers . . . 78
5. **St Mary's Charity School** (1711).
7 boys, 13 girls 20
6. **St Mark's, Cheetham** (1818).
36 boys, 28 girls, free }
100 pay } 166
7. **Lancasterian** (1809).
2 masters, 1 mistress, 721 boys, 320 girls, 1051 total, in one room 1051
8. **National School** (1821).
280 boys, 150 girls 330
9. **Fir St School.**
Established and supported by Benjn. Heywood, free for tenants, 50+44 94
Lending library attached.
10. **Collegiate Ch. Charity School** (*ante* 1786).
Legacies, etc., at Coll. Ch. (Girls) 60
11. **St John's Charity School** (1770).
Dr Byrom. About 20 girls *aet.* 6-8 admitted annually for 3 yrs. 60
12. **Ladies' Charity School** (1806).
(Bequest of £10,077 in 1830.) 40 girls boarded, clothed and taught to become household servants. Writing and arithmetic only in particular cases. (All reading.)
13. **Cross St and Mosley St Unitarian Chapels Day Schools** (1807). (Girls) 43
14. **Mechanics Institution Day School.**
Chiefly for relatives of subscribers . . . 210
15. **New Jerusalem Ch. Day School** (1827).
Monitorial System. (Boys) 200
Endowments: but charge made and used for books, etc.
16. **Scotch Ch. Day School** (1834).
Any denomination. 100 boys, 30 girls . . . 130
17. **Catholic Charity Day School.**
315 boys+100 girls 415
18. **St George's National School, Hulme.**
Subscriptions+payments. 100 boys+70 girls . . 170
19. **Newton St Charity School** (1770).
65 boys+10 girls 75

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20. **Beswick Mill Day School.**
Use of schoolroom free. 50 boys+6 girls . . 56
Fees: 3d. reading; 6d. reading and writing; 8d. reading, writing and arithmetic. Evening: 1d. reading; ½d. extra writing and accounts.

21. **Dame School, Swan Court** (1833).
4 boys+14 girls 18

22. **St Paul's School** (1770).
Now defunct.

Infant Schools

In all these schools Wilderspin's Monitorial System is adopted, and religious and moral instruction is carefully conveyed.

Footnotes on Common Day School Masters

The masters themselves have generally a better opinion of their own qualifications for their office. One of them observed, during a visit paid to his school, that there were too many schools to do any good, adding: "I wish Government would pass a law that nobody but *them as is high larnt* should keep school, and then *we* might stand a chance to do some good."

Most of the masters and mistresses of these schools seem to be strongly impressed with the superiority of their own plans to those of any other school, and very little inclined to listen to any suggestions respecting improvements in the system of education that had been made in other places. "The old road is best," they would sometimes say. One master stated that he had adopted a system which he thought would supply the great desiderata in education. "It is simply," he said, "in watching the disposition of the children, and putting them especially to that particular thing which they take to." In illustration of this system, he called upon a boy about ten years of age, who had *taken to* Hebrew, which he was just beginning to learn; the master acknowledging that he himself was learning too, in order to teach his pupil. On being asked whether he did not now and then find a few who did not take to anything, he acknowledged that it was so; and this he said was the only weak point in his system, as he feared that he should not be able to make much of those children.

One of these masters, who was especially conscious of the superior excellence of his establishment, began to dilate upon the various sciences with which he was familiar: Hydraulics, Hydrostatics, Geography, Geology, Etymology, Entomology. The visitor remarked: "This is *multum in parvo* indeed," to which the master immediately replied: "Yes, I teach that; you may put that down too."

In one of these seminaries of learning, where there were about 130 children, the noise and confusion was so great as to render the replies of the master to the inquiries put to him totally inaudible. He made several attempts to obtain silence, but without effect; at length, as a last effort, he ascended his desk, and striking it forcibly with a ruler, said, in a strong Hibernian accent: "I'll tell you what it is, boys, the first I hear make a noise, I'll call him up, and kill him entirely"; and then, perceiving probably on the countenance of his visitor some expression of dismay at this murderous threat, he added quickly in a more subdued tone: "Almost I will." His menace produced no more effect than his previous appeals had done. A dead silence succeeded for a minute or two; then the whispering recommenced, and the talking, shuffling of

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feet, and general disturbance was soon as bad as ever. The master gave up the point, saying as he descended from the desk: "You see the brutes, there's no managing them!"

APPENDIX VII

A PLAN FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A GENERAL SYSTEM OF SECULAR EDUCATION IN THE COUNTY OF LANCASTER

[Copy of a leaflet included in a book entitled *Lancashire Public School Association: Printed Papers*, in Reference Library, Manchester.]

Divisions of the County

The County of Lancaster is divided into six Hundreds or Wapentakes —viz.

Amounderness, which in 1840 contained		59	townships
Leyland	,, ,,	40	,,
Salford	,, ,,	99	,,
Blackburn	,, ,,	78	,,
Lonsdale	,, ,,	90	,,
West Derby	,, ,,	98	,,

The entire number of townships is 464.

School Committees

Every parish or township in the county, containing 2000 inhabitants or upwards, shall be required to appoint annually a school committee, consisting of numbers in the following proportion to the population. In the parishes or townships containing:

2,000 and under 5,000	5,000	inhabitants, the committee shall consist of	
5,000 and under 10,000	10,000	,, ,,	,,
10,000 and under 50,000	50,000	,, ,,	,,
50,000 and upwards		,, ,,	,,

The school committees shall be required to establish and support the following four descriptions of schools; for which purpose they shall be empowered to levy rates.

Schools

First—Common Day Schools

For children from five to fifteen years of age.

In which they shall be instructed in reading, grammar, writing, arithmetic, grography and such other kinds of useful secular information as may be deemed advisable, or the growing intelligence of the people may demand. In addition to these, a sacred regard to truth, justice, kindness and forbearance in our intercourse with our fellow-creatures; temperance, frugality, industry, and all other virtues conducive to the right ordering of practical conduct in the affairs of life. And inasmuch as these virtues, together with reverence and love towards the Divine Being, are clearly taught and powerfully enforced in the Scriptures, a selection of examples and precepts inculcating them shall

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be taught therefrom, and read and used in the said schools, but without reference to the peculiar theological tenets of any religious sect or denomination.

For the purpose of making this selection, a commission shall be appointed by the county board, consisting of nine individuals, no two of whom shall be members of the same religious denomination: and in order that the peculiar tenets of no religious sect may be favoured, the unanimous concurrence of the commission shall be required in the selection.

Second—Evening Schools

For persons of the age of ten years and upwards. Under the same regulations as the day schools.

Third—Infant Schools

For children under six years of age.

Fourth—Industrial Schools

For the purpose of affording food and shelter during the day to that portion of the juvenile population which has no apparent means of subsistence save by begging or crime; of instructing them in the foregoing branches of education, and in some industrial occupation, which may lead them to prefer a life of useful activity to one of idleness, rescue them from destitution and misery, and give them an opportunity of becoming honest and respectable members of the community.

RIGHT OF ADMISSION TO THE SCHOOLS

All children shall have the right of free admission, at the ages before mentioned, to the day, evening, or infant schools of the parish, township, or school union, in which they reside, except such as do not possess the faculties of hearing, speech, or sight, such as are of unsound mind, afflicted with any contagious disorder, or convicted of crime.

NOTE.—School committees may, in special cases, relax the rule excluding children convicted of crime.

POWERS AND DUTIES OF THE SCHOOL COMMITTEE

The school committee shall have the power to dismiss and engage masters and teachers, and to decide on all matters relating to the management of the schools, subject to the following regulations:—

1. Nothing shall be taught in any of the schools which favours the peculiar tenets of any religious sect; and in order that perfect security may be afforded, any ratepayer shall have the right to complain to the school committee of the conduct of any teacher in this respect; and in case of dissatisfaction with the decision of the school committee, he shall have the right to appeal to the committee of the hundred; and if dissatisfied with their decision to the county board of education, and from the decision of the county board to the courts of law and equity.
2. No clergyman of the Church of England, nor any dissenting minister, nor any ecclesiastic of the Catholic Church, shall be capable of holding any salaried office in connection with the schools.

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3. No master or teacher shall be appointed to any school who has not received a certificate of his qualification from the examiners appointed by the county board, so long as there is a candidate for the vacancy who has received a certificate: unless the county board, on special cause shown to it, shall authorise the school committee to dispense with the certificate.
4. No book shall be admitted into any school which has not first received the sanction of the county board.
5. The course of education recommended by the county board shall be pursued in all the public schools in the county.

   As it is of the first necessity to create in the minds of the people a desire for education and a just estimate of its benefits, it shall be the duty of the committees to endeavour to create this desire by communicating personally, or by means of agents, with the parents and guardians of those children who are receiving no education.
6. Each school committee shall furnish to the county board an annual report of the schools under its management, and shall at all times furnish such information as may be required by the board.
7. Each school comm. shall annually publish in a cheap form, for the use of the ratepayers, a statement of all monies received and expended by them, and present a copy of the same to the committee of the hundred and to the county board.
8. School committees shall have power, in special cases, to relax the rule excluding children convicted of crime from the day, evening, or infant schools, and to expel any child for gross insubordination or misconduct.
9. School comms shall have power to appoint a clerk with a salary.

Committees of the Hundred

In each hundred a central committee shall be annually elected by the school comms. within the hundred.

In the hundred of—

Leyland	the central comm.	shall consist of	6	members
Amounderness,	,,	,,	8	,,
Blackburn	,,	,,	10	,,
Salford	,,	,,	12	,,
Lonsdale	,,	,,	12	,,
West Derby	,,	,,	12	,,

Powers and Duties of the Committees of the Hundred

1. To unite parishes or townships containing less than 2000 inhabitants into school unions, which unions shall act in every respect as if they were parishes or townships of themselves.
2. If the majority of the ratepayers of any parish or township present at a public meeting, called for that purpose, object to be united with any other parish or township, they shall have the right of appeal from the decision of the comm. of the hundred to the county board.
3. If any parish, township, or school union neglect to establish or support schools, the comm. of the hundred shall levy rates for the purpose, and appoint a school committee for such parish, township, or union.
4. To admonish or dismiss teachers whose conduct is brought under their notice by appeal from the decision of the school comm.
5. The comm. of the hundred shall have power (but it shall not be

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imperative on them) to establish schools for the deaf, dumb, and blind, and to draw a sum for their support from the school rates of each parish, township, or school union, in proportion to its population.

6. The comm. of the hundred shall form a corporation in which shall be vested the whole school property of the hundred, in order that if the necessity for the maintenance of a school in any parish, township, or school union shall cease, the property may be available to some other place within the hundred. In this corporation may also be vested any other property conveyed or bequeathed for educational purposes within the hundred.

7. The comms. of the hundred shall annually furnish to the county board reports of their proceedings, statements of all monies received and expended by them: and at all times such information as may be required by the board.

8. The comm. of the hundred shall have the power to appoint a clerk, with a salary.

County Board of Education

A county board of education shall be established, consisting of twelve persons of whom not more than three shall be members of any one religious denomination. The board shall consist in the first instance of the following persons—viz. [In this place should be inserted the names of the twelve persons composing the first county board.]

Two of the members who have attended the fewest meetings of the board shall retire annually, but may be re-elected. All vacancies shall be filled up by a majority of the votes of the members of all the comms. of hundreds. The board shall elect annually a president. Five members shall form a quorum.

Duties and Powers of the County Board

1. The board shall appoint annually a secretary, at a salary of not less than five hundred nor more than eight hundred pounds per annum. The concurrence of two-thirds of the members present shall be necessary in the appointment of the secretary and inspectors.

2. It shall be necessary for the board to sanction all books before they are admitted into any of the schools; and no book shall receive the sanction of the board which favours the peculiar tenets of any religious sect. Objections, made in writing by any three members of the board to any book, on the ground that it favours the peculiar tenets of any religious sect, shall prevent such book from being introduced into any of the schools.

3. The members of the board, or their secretary, or inspectors, shall have power to enter the public schools, at all times, to examine into the progress made by the scholars, into the course of instruction pursued, and into all matters relating to the management of the schools.

4. It shall be the duty of the board to admonish or dismiss for the first offence, and for the second offence to dismiss, any teacher whose conduct shall be brought under its notice by appeal, and who shall appear to it to have favoured in his teaching any peculiar theological opinions.

5. If any township, parish, or school union shall neglect to establish and support schools, and if the comm. of the hundred in which such parish, township, or school union is situated shall neglect to use the power given them to supply the deficiency, it shall be the duty of the county board to establish schools, to levy rates on such parish,

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township, or school union for their establishment and support, and to appoint comm. to manage them.

6. The county board shall draw up such a plan of educ. as it shall deem best suited to the four descriptions of public schools, which it shall recommend to the school comms., and it shall be the duty of the board to enforce its adoption.

7. The board shall obtain from the school comms whatever information it may require relating to the condition and management of the schools, and present annually to the two houses of Parliament, and to every school comm., a detailed report of the state of education in Lancashire.

8. The board shall procure as much information as possible of the state of education in this kingdom, on the continent of Europe, and in America, and convey whatever may appear needful to the different school comms.

9. As an incitement to diligence and good conduct on the part of the pupils in the local schools, the county board shall have power to expend two thousand pounds annually in maintaining at the normal school a number of such pupils as shall be reported by the sch. comms to be deserving of such reward, and shall pass through such a course of examination by the public examiners as shall be decided on by the board.

10. The expenses incurred by the board shall be defrayed by the parishes, townships, and unions in proportion to their population.

11. The board shall form a corporation, in which shall be vested the property belonging to the normal schools, and in which may be vested any other property conveyed or bequeathed for the establishment or support of normal schools, colleges, libraries or for any other educational purposes for the use of the county generally.

Examination of Teachers

1. The county board shall appoint three competent persons to examine candidates for the office of master or teacher.

2. The examiners shall have power to decide on the qualification of candidates, and to grant or refuse certificates accordingly.

3. In order to ensure impartiality in the decisions, the same tests of fitness shall be applied to all applicants for certificates in the same branches of knowledge, and the course of examination shall be laid down by the county board.

4. The time and place at which examiners shall meet for the purpose of examining candidates shall be appointed by the county board, and at least a month's notice previous to any examination shall be given by advertisement in the principal county papers.

5. The county board shall have power to fix the salaries of the examiners at a sum not exceeding pounds each per annum; and every applicant for a certificate shall pay to the board a fee of on registering his name.

6. The certificate shall be the property of the person to whom it is granted, and if delivered up by him to any of the school committees, it shall be returned to him on demand.

7. If any applicant is dissatisfied with the decision of the examiners, he shall have the power of appeal to the county board, which may then grant him a certificate if it think fit.

Normal Schools

1. The county board shall establish and support one or more normal schools for the training of teachers. It shall have power to engage and

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dismiss teachers, to decide on the course of instruction to be pursued, and on all matters relating to the management of the normal schools.

2. Nothing shall be taught in the normal schools which favours the peculiar tenets of any religious sect.

3. The county board shall have power to draw from the townships, parishes, and school unions, in proportion to their population, the sums necessary for the erection of buildings for the normal schools. The current expenses shall be defrayed by the pupils, or by the townships, parishes, or school unions for whom the pupils are in training.

4. It shall be optional with the school comms whether they engage teachers who have been educated in the normal schools or not.

NOTE

The popn. of Lancs. in 1841 was 1,666,054, but may at present be considered as 2,000,000. The net rental assessed for the poor-rates in the county of Lancs. for the year ending Lady Day 1841 was £5,266,606—at present it may be taken as £6,000,000. The erection of a school house in every township (464 in number) at an expense of £250 each wd. cost altogether £116,000. A rate of 4¾d. (in the pound) wd. raise a sum of £118,750.

APPENDIX VIII

NATIONAL PUBLIC SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

(Important differences in this Draft from the L.P.S.A. Draft)

Abbreviations used: C.B.=County Board, also Cty. Bd.; Sch.=School; Comm.=Committee.

I. *Geographical Divisions.*

1. The division of England and Wales into Counties, and the subdivision of Counties into Parishes and Townships, shall be made use of for the purposes of this system. Municipal Boroughs and Districts governed by local Commissioners shall form separate School Districts, independently of the Parishes of which they may be composed or form a part.
2. Counties containing fewer than inhabitants may be united to an adjoining County or Counties; and Counties containing more than inhabitants may be subdivided.
3. Each County shall contain an Educational System, complete within itself.

NOTE.—The word County is intended to include unions of Counties, and divisions of Counties; and the word District is intended to include Parish, Township, and Borough; and the system is intended for females as well as males. The provisions of this system to be enforced by adequate penalties.

II. *School Authorities.*

The Sch. Auths. shall consist of—

1. Sch. Comms, elected by the ratepayers in each District.
2. County Boards, elected by the Sch. Comms. within the County.
3. Inspectors and other Officers, apptd by the Cty. Boards.

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4. Commissioners, apptd by the Crown to secure the establishment of the system.

III. *Appointment of Sch. Comms.*

1. On or before the first day of Oct. in each year, the overseers, mayor, or chief officer of every Sch. District in Eng. and Wales containing inhabitants shall call a public meeting of the ratepayers, to be held within twenty-one days after that date, for the purpose of electing a Sch. Comm., consisting of numbers in proportion to the population.
2. In case the inhabitants shd neglect to attend such meeting, the overseers, mayor, or chief officer shall appt. a Comm. out of the ratepayers of the district.
3. The Sch. Comm. shall be required to establish and support the following four descriptions of Schs, for wh purpose they shall be empowered to levy rates.

V. 2. The right of admission to the Industrial Schs. shall be by order of a Magistrate.

VI. *Powers and Duties of the Sch. Comms.*

1. The Sch. Comms. shall have power to levy and raise in each sch. district a rate for the purpose of this system, and to require the overseers or borough officers to collect and pay over the same to them after the manner in wh borough rates are laid, raised, and paid.
2. The Sch. Comms. may purchase, lease or hire sch. buildings, and may purchase land, either absolutely, or on chief or ground rent and erect buildings thereon.
3. The Sch. Comms. may purchase, lease or rent existing school-rooms, notwithstanding any trusts or endowments for any specific kind of teaching therein; provided always that the trustees, managers, or proprietors of the Schs so transferred shall have power to reserve to themselves the sole right to use the buildings for Sunday Schs, and for the purpose of communicating religious instruction in conformity to their respective trust deeds, at such times as they may not be required for the purposes of instruction under this system. (See s. viii. c. 2.)
4. The Sch. Comms. shall have power to let Sch. rooms, for any useful purpose, when they are not occupied for instruction under this system.
5. The Sch. Comms. shall set apart hours in every week, during wh the Schs shall be closed for the purpose of affording an opportunity to the scholars to attend the instructions of the teachers of religion in the various churches and chapels, or other suitable places. No compulsion shall be used to force attendance, nor shall any penalty or disability whatever be imposed for non-attendance, on such religious instruction. (See s. vi. c. 3.)
6. The Sch. Comms. shall have power to engage and dismiss masters and teachers, and to decide on all matters relating to the management of the schs., subject to the following regulations:—
7. No master or teacher shall be apptd to any sch. who has not received a certificate of qualification fr. the examiners apptd by the County Board, so long as there is a candidate for the vacancy who has received a certificate, unless the Cty. Bd, on special cause shown to it, shall authorise the Sch. Comm. to dispense with the certificate.

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8. The Sch. Comms. shall have power to article pupil teachers, and apprentice youths to the profession of teaching, and to allow the headmasters remuneration for the same.
9. No course of instruction shall be pursued in any of the schs. but such as is prescribed by the Cty. Bd.
10. Nothing shall be taught in any of the sch. wh favours the peculiar tenets of any sect of Christians; and, in order that perfect security may be afforded in this respect, any ratepayer or parent shall have the right to complain to the Sch. Comm. of the conduct of any teacher; and, in case of dissatisfaction in the decision of the Sch. Comm., he shall have the right of appeal to the Cty Bd, and to the Courts of Law and Equity.
11. No book, wh has not first received the sanction of the Cty. Bd, shall be used in any sch. under this system.
12. As it is of the first necessity to create in the minds of the people a desire for education and a just estimate of its benefits, it shall be the duty of the Sch. Comms. to endeavour to create this desire, by communicating personally, or by means of visitors, with the parents and guardians of those children who are receiving no school instruction.
13. The Sch. Comms. shall have power to expel any child for gross insubordination or misconduct; and in special cases, to relax the rule excluding persons from the day or evening schs.
14. The Sch. Comms. shall furnish to the Cty. Bds. annual reports of the schs under their management, and shall at all times furnish to the Cty. Bds. such information as may be required from them.
15. The Sch. Comms. shall annually publish, in a cheap form, for the use of the ratepayers, statements of all money received and expended by them; and shall present copies of the same to the Cty. Bds.
16. No Minister of Religion shall be capable of holding any salaried office in connection with the schs.

VII. *County Board of Education.*

1. A Board of education, consisting of twelve persons, shall be elected in every county, one-third of whom shall go out of office annually, but shall be re-eligible. The election shall be made by the votes of the members of the Sch. Comms. within the county.
2. All vacancies shall be filled up in the same manner. The Board shall elect annually a president. Five members shall form a quorum.

VIII. *Duties and Powers of the County Boards.*

1. Each C.B. shall be a corporation, in wh may be invested any property conveyed, transferred, or bequeathed for educational purposes within the County.
2. Trustees selling, leasing, or letting any existing schs, or transferring any existing endowments to the Sch. Comms. or C.Bs for the purposes of this system, shall not be liable to any legal proceedings for so doing.
3. The C.Bs shall unite districts containing fewer than inhabitants, and parts of parishes not included in Boroughs, or districts, to adjoining districts, and thereby to form sch. unions, which unions shall act in every respect as if they were districts of themselves.

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4. If any district neglect to establish or support schools, the C.B. shall levy rates for the purpose, and appoint a Sch. Comm. for such district.
5. The C.Bs shall prepare such courses of instruction as they shall deem best suited to the four descriptions of schs, due regard being had to the requirements of difft localities; and they shall have power to enforce the adoption of such courses of instruction.
6. It shall be necessary for the C.Bs to sanction all books before they are admitted into any of the schools.
7. In regard to all the books employed in the schs., and in regard to the instruction and discipline therein carried on, the C.Bs shall make and enforce such regulations as shall secure to dissidents and objectors the full rights of conscience.
8. It shall be in the power of the C.Bs to admonish or dismiss any teacher whose conduct shall be brought under their notice by appeal for the decision of any Sch. Comm.
9. The members of the C.Bs, or their secretaries, or inspectors, shall have power to enter the schs. at all times, to examine into the progress made by the scholars, into the course of instruction pursued, and into all matters relating to the management of the schools.
10. The C.Bs shall have power to establish schs. for the deaf, the dumb and the blind, and to draw a sum for their support from the sch. rates of each district, in proportion to the rateable value of its property.
11. As an incitement to diligence and good conduct on the part of the pupils in the schools, the C.Bs shall have power to expend £ annually, in maintaining at the normal schs. a number of such pupils as shall be reported by the Sch. Comms to be deserving of such reward, and who express a desire to become teachers; provided they pass satisfactorily through such a course of examination, by the examiners, as shall be decided on by the C.Bs.
12. The C.Bs shall obtain from the Sch. Comms. whatever information they may require relating to the condition and management of the schools, and shall present annually to the Commissioners of the Crown, and to every Sch. Comm., a detailed report of the state of education in their respective counties.
13. The expenses incurred by the C.Bs shall be defrayed by the districts, in proportion to the rateable value of their property.
14. Each C.B. shall appoint a Treasurer, Secretary and Inspectors.

IX. *Commissioners of the Crown.*

Immediately after the legislative enactment of this system, Commissioners shall be apptd by the Crown, whose duty it shall be to carry out the provisions of the Act. It shall be also their duty to procure as much information as possible of the state of education in this and other countries, to convey whatever may appear useful to the C.Bs and to present an Annual Report to Parliament. The provisions of this system to be enforced by adequate penalties.

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APPENDIX IX

NATIONAL PUBLIC SCHOOL ASSOCIATION

REPORT OF A SUB-COMMITTEE APPOINTED "TO CONSIDER THE PROVISIONS OF THE PLAN IN RELATION TO EXISTING SCHOOLS, AND TO REPORT TO THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE." ADOPTED BY THE EXEC. COMM., AUG. 12, 1851.

THE Sub-Comm. find that the chief difficulties in the way of progress are: The fear that the establishment of Free Schools would draw away scholars from existing schools; that to take away scholars to other buildings wd injure the congregations to which existing schools are connected; that in cases of endowed schools, or schools erected with a view to the inculcation of doctrinal religion, the exclusion of such instruction wd violate the wills of donors and supporters; that the present supporters and managers feel a lively personal interest in the success of the schools in which they are connected, and desire to retain their management. The Sub-Comm. think that all these objections may be met by the following Appendix to that part of the Plan wh. empowers Sch. Comms. to "purchase, lease, or rent existing school-rooms" (c. VI. s. 3) and recommend that the substance of the Report be embodied in any documents the Association may put forth.

PROPOSED APPENDIX TO CLAUSE VI. S. 3

That schools already in existence may become free schools under the direction of their present or future managers, and receive grants per week for each scholar educated in them.

Provided:

1. That on inspection they are found in a satisfactory condition.
2. That "the inculcation of doctrinal religion" shall not take place in them between the hours of and in the morning, and and in the afternoon.
3. That the attendance of the scholars on "the inculcation of doctrinal religion" shall not be compulsory.
4. That "the inculcation of doctrinal religion" shall not be a part of the duty of the teachers under this system.
5. That no part of the school payments derived from the rate shall be directly or indirectly applied to "the inculcation of doctrinal religion."

APPENDIX X (A)

SUMMARISED EVIDENCE OF CERTAIN WITNESSES CALLED BY THE "SELECT COMMITTEE OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS" APPOINTED 17 MARCH 1852, TO ENQUIRE INTO THE STATE OF EDUCATION IN MANCHESTER, SALFORD, ETC.

TOTAL POPULATION, Census 1851:

Manchester Municipal Borough . . .	303,358
Salford, including Broughton and Pendleton .	87,514

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Rev. C. Richson.

Demonstrated more than enough accommodation for children—in almost all denominations.

Estimated since 1834 increase of Sunday school accommodation in Manc. 55%; Salford 59%. Day Schools, Manc. 324; Salford 294½%.

Only 492 Factory Scholars.

Committee of Privy Council grants had worked well: a new system which would ignore or sacrifice existing schools would sacrifice a vast sum of money, and would offend the consciences of the present promoters.

Populn. increased since 1834 52½%; attendance of day sch. 25%. In a house to house visitation of 17,426 families with children, 36,527 ch. from 3 to 14 yrs., 5153 at work, 14,197 at sch., 17,177 neither at work nor at school, of whom 6268 were at home through alleged poverty. These had never been to school, and there were also 5799 who had formerly been to school and were now at home through poverty. Total, 12,067.

Statistics were presented to show that criminals were ignorant.

He was in favour of rate up to 6d. in the £.

He would rather have a central authority raising quality of edn. than every little community pettifogging at it.

Wm. Entwistle.

Explained "Local Bill," and held that it would be better to pay for all religions than negative them all—if wrong, then present grants should end.

Admitted this meant exclusion of Roman Catholics. Did not think they would mind.

Town Council was to do little more than collect the rate. "Privy Council to determine the law."

National Society's schools would be excluded if they did not alter their rule about Catechism.

The Very Rev. the Dean (G. H. Bowers).

Present statistics show subscriptions to Church Edn. Socy and National Society had fallen off, and schools cd. not be adequately helped.

	Ch. Edn Soc.		*Nat. Soc.*
	Subscriptions	*Donations*	
1845	£860	£1156	£148
1846	837	574	92
1847	714	54	101
1848	£665 and special £310	36	79
1849	423	125	76
1850	305	131	75
1851	201	nil	61

Now £420 deficit.

Edward Baines.

Education like industry will be best off when it shifts for itself. An average of 5 yrs.' attendance is more than can reasonably be expected.

According to my statements only 349 children not now at school can be reasonably expected.

The first effect of Govt. interference has been favourable and stimulative of improvement in schoolmasters, but in the end no plan of Govt. interference will be nearly so calculated to keep up and advance educational improvements, as perfect freedom and open competition.

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Increase of scholars 39·22% since 1834, not 25% as Richson said.

Grounds of Reliance on Voluntary System:—

Natural affection and sense of duty of the parents, the convenience of mothers of having their children at school, the growing sense of the value of education, enlightened patriotism and philanthropy, self-interest and competition of the classes engaged in education, and the law of intellectual progress; in short, the laws of nature, the spirit of religion, the principles of freedom.

Nature teaches us that children must and do everywhere suffer for the vices of their parents. I do not think it is the duty of the community, acting through the State, to take care of the educationally neglected.

Persons who cannot spell properly or write a grammatical sentence may be as well qualified as the best of scholars to give religious and moral instruction.

My opinion is that if no grants were made to Manchester, education would be supplied, and the number of teachers kept up. I think the present state of Manchester schools is owing to the Government grants, which have led people to look to Government to do the whole for them.

Interference of Government in education is wrong in principle. The small number in school does not prove many to be without education but only that they go a shorter time to school.

Gratuitous education is a retrograde movement.

It is in the highest degree unwise and unsafe for Parliament to pass a law providing for all types of religion to receive aid. The highest allegiance of multitudes would compel them to disobey.

APPENDIX X (B)

ANALYSIS OF THE CENSUS PAPERS ON EDUCATION (AS PRESENTED TO THE ROYAL COMMISSION, 1851-1852.) FROM L.P.S.A. SCRAP BK.

Analysis

There are in Manc. Municipal Borough the following number of children of various ages who neither attend day schools nor go to work—viz.

At 3 yrs. of age	5,713			at school	1,171
,, 4 ,,	4,678	at work	9	,,	2,065
,, 5 ,,	3,442	,,	15	,,	3,237
,, 6 ,,	2,714	,,	36	,,	3,733
,, 7 ,,	2,554	,,	51	,,	3,997
,, 8 ,,	2,112	,,	98	,,	3,784
,, 9 ,,	2,028	,,	197	,,	3,787
,, 10 ,,	2,070	,,	596	,,	3,691
,, 11 ,,	1,684	,,	1,068	,,	3,076
,, 12 ,,	1,783	,,	2,054	,,	2,387
,, 13 ,,	1,322	,,	2,925	,,	1,466
,, 14 ,,	1,205	,,	4,326	,,	869
Total	31,305		11,375		33,263[1]

[1] Parents' return to Registrars.

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ANALYSIS—*continued*

Total scholars of all ages, on the books, according to schoolmasters' returns		26,140
Number neither at sch. nor at work between 3 and 14 yrs., being less than the real number by from 4000-5000 the number of scholars under 3 and over 14 years		38,428
Scholars attending 31 March 1852, being average attendce.		22,451
No. between 3 and 14 yrs. neither at work nor at sch. every day, being less than real number, by the no. of scholars above 14 and under 3 yrs. of age		42,117
Total scholars of all ages in Manc. as returned by sch.masters		26,140
,, ,, Salford	,,	5,243
,, ,, Broughton, Pendleton, Pendlebury	,,	2,280
		33,663
Numbers attending 31 March 1851		28,715
Absentees		4,948
Proportion of scholars to popn.	1 in 11·60	
,, in attendce. ,,	1 ,, 13·11	
,, of scholars in Birmingham District	1 ,, 9·59	
,, ,, Liverpool ,,	1 ,, 8·26	
,, ,, Hull ,,	1 ,, 8·06	
,, ,, Leeds ,,	1 ,, 8·00	
,, ,, York ,,	1 ,, 6·39	
Children in the proposed education districts between 3 and 14 yrs. of age		98,510
Scholars of all ages	33,663	
In employment	14,659	
		48,322
Neither at sch. nor at work		50,188
Odd Absentees		4,948
Number away from school every day being less than real number by the number of scholars under 3 and over 14		55,136

APPENDIX X (c)

REPORT UPON THE STATISTICAL ENQUIRY INSTITUTED BY THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE NATIONAL PUBLIC SCHOOLS ASSOCIATION in St Michael's and St John's Wards, in Nov. and Dec. 1852.

Signed by JOHN WATTS. 25th Jan. 1853.

ST MICHAEL'S WARD

was formerly considered one of the poorest and most ignorant districts of the Boro', and it still contains large masses of people to whom the value of cleanliness, and the uses of school instruction seem unknown.

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Some improvt. through new houses of artisans, etc., but the report *en masse* will I think furnish a strong proof of the necessity of a National system of education.

Children comprised in this return over 3 and under 14 are 8644 in number.

P. 2. The number of children betw. 13 and 14 yrs of age, as shown in Table 1, is 973, of whom 289, or nearly ⅓ of the whole, have never been to a day school; and also nearly ⅓ of all children betw. 3 and 14 have not begun to go to school.

Abstract of Children of from 13 to 14 yrs of age

No. of Ch.	Not gone to Day Sch.	Never to Evening Sch.	Never to S.S.	Never to any Sch.
973	289	770	187	100

P. 3. Of what value is it to know that the pupils average nearly 5$\frac{1}{10}$ yrs., or that there is nearly 3$\frac{1}{2}$ yrs. of instruction each for all the chil. of that age, when we have positive evidence that nearly ⅓ of them are wholly destitute, and that more than another ⅓ vary from the least possible amount of instrn up to the average.

TABLE 5.—*Classification of School Attendance*

Ch. Schs.	R.C. Schs.	Chapel, Lancn., and other Schs.	Private Schs. kept by masters	Pr. Schs. kept by mistresses	Boarding Schs.	Total
2077	1635	721	602	441	22	5498

The greater portion of the attendants at private schools in this district would be as correctly described with regard to their instruction, if added to the number of those who have never gone to school.

There are 1221 families, or more than ⅓ of the whole 3520 families having children at the sch. age, where none of the children have been to a day sch.; but 303 of these fams have availed themselves of the free instrn. of the Sunday Schools, "a proof to me that if Day Schools were free the attendance wd. be much increased, for the 303 cases in all probably comprise nearly ½ of the Day Schools absentees who are above 7 yrs. of age.

Evening School Attendance

	Less than 1 yr.	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Total, 460	320	67	43	15	5	5	3	2

305 out of 460 *have been to* Church or Chapel Schs. where teaching is honorary and inefficient. Reasons for non-attendance "are nearly all resolvable into poverty. With but few exceptions I find poverty and neglect of instruction go hand in hand."

ST JOHN'S WARD

The system of averages would give to all the children at the school age in this Ward about 4$\frac{1}{2}$ years of instrn. each, and this by the advocates of voluntary effort would be reckoned a tolerably satisfactory state of affairs; but it would completely overlook the fact that 1012 chil. at every age within the sch.-going period have as yet received no

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instruction, *i.e.*, nearly ⅓ of the whole number, which proportion is only reduced to about ¼ at the termination of the sch. age.

FOR BOTH WARDS

Summary of Sch. Attendance of Children 11, 13 *and* 14 *yrs. of age*

Have never been to a Day Sch.	Have gone 1 yr.	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	10+	Total Schools	Total chil.	Never been to any sch.
383	54	86	96	118	131	123	115	104	73	46	32	978	1361	128

Is it wonderful that our population is drunken and debased?

(This report also suggests that as census return (given by parents) of previous year is 33,263 ch. for Manc. and Sal. and by schmasters only 26,140 day scholars, the state of affairs is even worse than supposed.)

APPENDIX XI

DISSOLUTION OF THE MANCHESTER AND SALFORD EDUCATION BILL COMMITTEE

MANCHESTER & SALFORD EDUCATION BILL COMMITTEE ROOMS,
4 YORK HOTEL BUILDINGS,
MANCHESTER.

18 *April* 1855.

DEAR SIR,

I am instructed by the Executive Committee of the Manchester and Salford Educational Association to inform you that they consider that the rejection of their Bill by Parliament last year was expressed in terms which precluded them from again introducing their own Bill—that the principles and details of that Bill proved in effect the Bond of union of this Association and that by persevering in any further assertion of their own exclusive views they would in all probability effect no useful purpose and only embarrass the settlement of the question by a public measure. As there are already two Bills for that purpose before the House of Commons and a third is promised this association are in hopes that the legislature will, without further loss of time, settle the principles on which education shall be offered to all classes of Her Majesty's Subjects. They have therefore determined to dissolve the Association and have desired me to communicate to you that the Association is accordingly dissolved from this day.

Believe me,
Yours faithfully,
WM. ENTWISTLE,
Chairman of the Manc. and Sal. Ed. Assn.

To A. HENRY, *Esq.*,
Chairman of the N.P.S.A.

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APPENDIX XII

EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT OF MR D. R. FEARON, H.M.I., ON "THE STATE OF EDUCATION FOR THE POORER CLASSES IN MANCHESTER." (Printed in *Manchester Guardian*, 12th March 1870.)

Uninspected Schools.

Seventy-eight schools, with a total of 95 departments, whose maximum fee does not as a rule exceed 1s. a week, are dealt with in this report. "A school which is kept in a cellar, with no admission of light except through the doorway, and no sittings for children except on the staircase; or a school in which the teacher is in extreme old age or paralytic; or a school in which, there being children more than six years old, only oral spelling is professed to be taught; or in which the elements being professed, there are only a few very bad reading books, or a very few slates among many children"—such a school is classified as unfit.

Uninspected Depts.				Scholars	
				On the Roll	In Attendance
Not visited			4	333	285
Visited	Middle Class		9	310	275
	Unfit	Public	7	575	448
		Private	30	1175	959
	Fit	Public	23	3362	2780
		Private	21	1011	815
			94	6766	5562

Private Schools.

Usually defective on account of unfitness of premises, defects of teacher, and lack of materials to teach the elements. An example: "This school is situated in two rooms one above the other, of a private dwelling-house. The dimensions of the lower room are about 18ft. × 12ft. × 8ft. It contained 52 children. Thus the allowance of space was a little more than 4 sq. ft., and little more than 33 cubic ft. per child. The upper room was smaller. It contained 30 ch. chiefly under 7 years of age; but 6 of them sitting at a desk at one side were 'a select class.' The odour in the two rooms, especially in the lower room, was very offensive. The master was apparently about 58 or 60 years old. He was in his shirt-sleeves when I arrived, and was going round in the lower room from one scholar to another, instructing them individually. . . . The disorder was great. They looked like a seething mass of children. . . . There was a great lack of materials. . . . I was proceeding to try some of the best in Arithmetic when the noise became so great that it was impossible to proceed. This arose from the master having taken the opportunity of my presence to visit the special class in the upper room, which he said he could seldom do, as they became so noisy downstairs. . . . I followed, and found 24 ch. doing nothing."

Summary on Unfit Schools.

"The foregoing account of these 20 cases which are more than half the whole number (37) of these *prima facie* unfit school departments in Manchester, affords an adequate representation of this class of uninspected schools. These so-called schools have upon their rolls in Manchester 1750 children, of various ages from 3 to 15 years, and 1407 children were found actually attending them in Sept. 1869."

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GENERAL SUMMARY OF INSPECTED SCHOOLS IN MANCHESTER

Schools under Inspection of Inspectors reporting to the Committee of Council on Education										Poor Law, Reformatory and Certified Industrial Schools			
	Departs.			Schols. on roll			In actual att.						
	Day	Night	Total Depts.	In day sch.	In night sch.	Total on roll	In day schs.	In night schs.	Total in attce.	Sch. under act. regd. hours of labour	Depts.	Schs. on roll	Schs. in act. attce.
Ancoats	23	6	29	4,034	542	4,576	3,100	164	3,264	361	..	..	..
Deansgate	15	2	17	3,743	258	4,001	2,834	136	2,970	3	..	..	..
London Rd	15	2	17	3,283	172	3,455	2,414	106	2,520	333	..	..	..
Market St	11	1	12	1,712	121	1,833	1,345	96	1,441	7	3	636	569
St George	19	6	25	4,412	606	5,017	3,261	378	3,639	40	..	..	..
Newton	3	2	5	530	112	642	359	78	437	..	..	..	..
Cheetham	13	..	13	1,983	..	1,983	1,413	..	1,413	..	..	..	..
Ardwick	6	..	6	1,466	..	1,466	1,175	..	1,175	..	2	225	225
Chorlton	19	..	19	3,309	..	3,309	2,599	..	2,599	79			
Hulme	34	10	44	6,532	533	7,065	4,952	97	5,049	..			
Totals	158	29	187	31,003	2344	33,347	23,452	1055	24,507	823	5	861	794

The number in the above Table—823+10 in private schools +36 at a factory school in Deansgate sub-district—gives total number of children attending school in this borough under any labour Act: 788 out of 811 are under Factory Acts of 1833 and 1844 which affect cotton mills; 19 are at school under the Print Works Act; 6 under Factory Act of 1864 and 8 under the Factory Works Extension Act. This last and the Workshops Regulation Act (1867) do not bring children to school. The first is administered, and results in dismissal, not attendance at school; the second is not administered, though at least 3000 children come under it.

Under the older Factory Acts children are at inspected schools. But result is marred because children come too late in life or intermittently; often at 10 or 11, instead of 8, and ignorant. Half-timers are liable to change place of abode and be out of employment; hence idleness and loss of earlier benefits. Yet these leave at 13 as having "passed full-time." Again the prospect of school 8-13 or 10-13 makes parents careless of any education before 8 or 10.

Conclusions.

The education of ordinary scholars of inspected schools is much better than in uninspected; yet of very low quality, the passes being in standards much below what is proper to the ages of the candidates, and there are many failures. (In the uninspected schools the instruction and discipline are "so bad that they are scarcely worth reckoning." But the schools are ill-distributed in districts and are the property of different religious denominations. Accommodation is needed for some 17,000 to 26,000 more children in efficient schools. For the maximum estimate the number of children of the poorer classes needing school accommodation is 61,815; the minimum estimate, 53,271; the number on the rolls is 40,974.

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APPENDIX XIII

LISTS OF THE MORE IMPORTANT MEN WHO SERVED ON VARIOUS COMMITTEES OF IMPORTANCE. ALSO MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FOR MANCHESTER

Manchester and Salford National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church (1830).

President.—Earl of Stamford and Warrington.

Vice-Presidents include H. H. Birley; Sir O. Mosley; Jeremiah Smith, D.D.

Committee includes J. C. Harter, Jas. H. Wanklyn.

Trustees of Manchester Free Grammar School (1837).

(From *Abuses of M. G. S.*, p. 13.)

The deeds required the feofees to be "12 honest gentn. and honest persons within the same parish of M/c, from time to time for ever." This was departed from, with the following results :—

	Parish	County	No. of Times	
			Present	Absent
The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Stamford and Warrington	Bowden	Cheshire	7	20
The Rt. Hon. the Earl of Wilton	Prestwich	Lancaster	4	23
Sir Robt. Holt Leigh, Bart.	Wigan	,,	8	19
The Rev. Thos. Foxley	Ratcliffe	,,	15	12
John Ford, Esq.		Chester	12	15
The Rev. John Clowes	Manc.	Lancs.	22	5
Wilbraham Egerton, Esq.	Rosthern	Chester	14	13
William Hulton, Esq.	Dean	Lancs.	16	11
Peter Heran, Esq.		Chester	8	19
Wm. Legh Clowes, Esq.		Derbyshire	16	11
John Entwistle, Esq.	Rochdale	Lancs.	6	21
Wm. Tatton Egerton		,,	3	24

The Manchester Society for Promoting National Education (November, 1837).

Chairman.—Wm. Neild.

General Committee includes: Alfred Binyon; Edward Binyon; Ald. W. R. Callender; Ald. Cobden; S. D. Darbishire; Edward Herford; John Mayson; Absalom Watkin.

Life Members (subscribers of £10 and upwards) include, besides the above: Sir Benjamin Heywood, Bart.; Sir Thomas Potter; Robert Hyde Greg; Alexander Henry; Salis Schwabe, etc.

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Royal Lancasterian School (1819).

President.—Sir O. Mosley. *Vice-Pres.*—Samuel Jones, B. A. Heywood, S. Philips, Jer. Fielding. *Treasurer.*—Edw. Loyd (*sic.*). *Secretary.*—Thos. Atkinson. *Committee* includes: Thos. Houldsworth, M.P., John King, Wm. Neild, The list for 1827 includes John Dalton. In 1838 Thos. Crewdson was secretary.

Manchester and Salford Branch of the British and Foreign School Society (1840).

Amongst the names of subscribers are the following:—Wm. Allen; Thomas Binyon (also Alfred and Edward); Joseph Brotherton, M.P.; Richard Cobden, M.P.; Dr John Dalton; S. D. Darbishire; Sir Benjamin Heywood, Baronet; John King; William Neild; Shipley Neave; John Owens; Mark Philips, M.P.; John Shuttleworth; Leo Schuster.

Manchester Church Education Society (First Report, 1845):

The "Working Committee" is composed for the most part of clergy, and includes: Canon Wray; Rev. Hugh Stowell; H. H. Birley; Rev. H. W. M'Grath; J. B. Wanklyn; Rev. C. Richson, *Hon. Sec.*; J. C. Harter, *Hon. Treas.*

Amongst donors of large amounts are: Ed. Lloyd, of Green Hill, £210; Birley & Co., £200, and ann. sub., £25; Rev. John Clowes; Lord Fr. Egerton; Geo. Faulker; Robt. Gladstone; J. C. Harter; Thos. Houldsworth, M.P.; Earl of Wilton.

Lancashire Public Schools Association.

Earliest published list of Officers (and Members), March 16, 1848.

President.—Alexander Henry, M.P.

Vice-Presidents.—Richard Alison, jun.; Joseph Brotherton, M.P.; Dr Bowring, M.P.; John Brooks (Manc.); Wm. Chadwick (Rochdale); W. R. Callender (Manc.); C. J. Darbishire (Bolton); J. C. Dyer (Burnage); Wm. Ewart, M.P.; W. J. Fox, M.P. (Oldham); Richard Gardner, M.P.; W. Hargreaves (Milnthorpe); Robt. Heywood (Bolton); Ald. W. M. Harvey (Salford); Philip Lucas; Ald. E. R. Langworthy (Salford); Ald. W. Lockett (Salford); Ald. R. P. Livingstone (Salford); Robt. Munn (Bacup); Wm. Rathbone (L'pool); Absalom Watkin (L'pool); W. B. Watkins (L'pool); Colonel Williams, D.L. (Little Woolton); C. J. S. Walker (Manc.); Rd. Vaughan Yates (L'pool).

The General Committee is particularly interesting:

Chairman.—Samuel Lucas.

Jos. Brotherton, M.P.; Dr Bowring, M.P.; Neil Bannatyne; Jacob Bright, jun.; Rev. J. R. Beard; Thomas Binyon; W. R. Callender; Rev. Dr Davidson; S. D. Darbishire; Francis Espinasse; Wm. Ewart; Thomas Emmott (Oldham); W. J. Fox, M.P.; H. R. Forrest; Rd. Gardner, M.P.; Alex. Henry, M.P.; W. B. Hodgson; Alex. Ireland; H. J. Leppoc.; Geo. Langworthy; E. R. Langworthy; Rev. W. M'Kerrow; J. A. Picton; S. P. Robinson; Saml. Robinson; Salis Schwabe; S. Alfred Steinthal; Absalom Watkin; John Watts; R. V. Yates.

Manchester and Salford Education Bill Committee (1851).

Chairman.—Wm. Entwistle.

Vice-Chairman.—Samuel Fletcher.

Treasurer.—Oliver Heywood.

Hon. Sec.—John Peel.

The Executive Committee included: Rev. G. H. G. Anson; Thos. Binyon; Rev. Wm. Birley; T. P. Bunting; W R. Callender; C. E. Cawley; Robt. Gladstone; J. C. Harter; E. R. Langworthy; John Mayson; Rev. H. W. M'Grath; Rev. G. Osborn; Rev. C. Richson; Rev. Canon H. Stowell; Sir J. P. Kay-Shuttleworth; Ed. Tootal.

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General Committee on Education (1857).

Sub-committee consisted of: Rev. G. H. G. Anson (*Rural Dean, Birch*); Rev. Dr Beard (*Unitarian*); Robert Brandt (*C. C. Judge, Est. Church*); T. P. Bunting (*Methodist, Tory*); Thomas Bazley, *Chairman* (*Pres. of Chamber of Commerce*); C. E. Cawley (*Est. Ch.*); Rev. Canon Clifton; Wm. Entwistle, *Treasurer* (*Est. Ch.*); Robert Gladstone (*Est. Ch.*); John King (*Quaker*); H. J. Leppoc (*Unitarian*); Rev. Dr W. M'Kerrow (*Presbyterian*); J. N. Nicholls (*Unitarian*); John Peel (? *Estab. Ch.*); Rev. J. Allanson Picton (*Congregationalist*); Rev. J. A. Pitcairn (*Est. Ch.*); Rev. Richson (*Est. Ch.*); Wm. Ross; R. M. Shipman (*Unitarian*); Francis Taylor (*Congregationalist*); A. Winterbottom; R. W. Smiles, *Secretary* (*Former sec. of N.P.S.A.*).

Manchester and Salford Education Aid Society (1864).

See p. 95. H. J. Leppoc, John King, jun., J. W. Maclure.

Manchester Education Bill Committee (1867).

See p. 106.

Manchester Free Grammar School (1867).

Trustees: Sir Elkanah Armitage, Kt. (*Chairman*); E. R. Langworthy (*Deputy Chairman*); Oliver Heywood; R. N. Philips, M.P.; Robt. Barbour; John Peel, M.P.; Chas. H. Rickards; W. R. Callender; James Chadwick; Murray Gladstone; Richd. Johnson; John Morley.

National Education League (1869). Manchester and Salford Branch.

Chairman.—Ald. Rumney.
Hon. Sec.—Rev. S. A. Steinthal.
Executive Committee.—Thos. Ashton; Elijah Helm; Chas. Bazley; —— Hadwen; Alex. Ireland; H. J. Leppoc; Sir Jos. Whitworth; John Dendy; Rev. H. E. Dowson; Rev. J. C. Paterson; Rev. J. Hyde; Rev. W. A. O'Connor; R. D. Rusden; Ald. Rumney; Rev. J. Clark; Dr Borchardt; Harry Rawson; Miss Becker; Miss Woolstenholme.
Amongst prominent subscribers were: E. J. Broadfield (Accrington); Wm. Mather (Salford); Thos. Thomasson (Bolton); —— Heugh (Manc.).

National Education Union (1869).

Officers include the following:—
Vice-Presidents include: Ed. Baines (Leeds); Hugh Birley (Manc.); Hon. Alg. F. Egerton (M. P., S.-E. Lancs.); W. Romaine Callender, jun.
Chairman of Executive.—Hugh Birley, M.P.

First Manchester School Board (1870).

Canon Toole, G. Richardson (*Catholics*); Herbert Birley, Rob. Gladstone, W. R. Callender, jun., Jos. Lamb, Thos. Dale (*Est. Ch.*); Lydia Becker; Rev. Dr M'Kerrow (*Presbyterian*); Dr John Watts, Oliver Heywood (*Manchester Bill Committee Representatives*); Wm. Birch, Junior (*Independent*); Richard Haworth, John Cooper (*Wesleyans*).

MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT FOR MANCHESTER BOROUGH 1832-1874

Parl. of 1833	Mark Philips Charles Poulett Thomson	} 15 Dec. 1832
,, ,, 1835	*Ibid.*	
,, ,, 1837	*Ibid.*	

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MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT—*Continued*

Parl: of 1841	Mark Philips Thos. Milner-Gibson	1 July 1841
,, ,, 1847	,, ,, ,, John Bright	29 July 1847
,, ,, 1852	*Ibid.* ,,	9 July 1852
,, ,, 1857	Sir John Potter, Kt. James Aspinall Turner	30 March 1857 (now Manc. City)
,, ,, 1859	James Aspinall Turner Thos. Bazley	2 May 1859
,, ,, 1865	Thos. Bazley Edw. James	14 July 1865
,, ,, 1868	Hugh Birley Thos. Bazley Jacob Bright	18 Nov. 1868
,, ,, 1874	Hugh Birley Sir Thos. Bazley Wm. Romaine Callender, jun.	7 Feb. 1874

WARDENS OF THE COLLEGIATE CHURCH

7 March 1782.	Richard Assheton, D.D.
12 July 1800.	Thos. Blackburne, D.C.L.
8 March 1823.	Thos. Calvert, D.D.

BISHOPS OF MANCHESTER (SEE CONSTITUTED IN 1847)

James Prince Lee. 1847.
James Fraser. 1870.

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